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The Controversy Between Christianity and Judaism

Recent movements give a new twist to the ancient controversy between Christianity and Judaism. One is the tendency of some Jewish scholars to admit not only the historical existence of Jesus but to accept him as a teacher of an unparalleled code of ethics. This movement is an attempt to reconcile Jesus and Moses, to level the wall between Christianity and Judaism. Another movement, tending to rear new religious barriers between Jew and Gentile and especially noticeable in Germany, is an attempt to divorce the New Testament from the Old and to liberate Christianity entirely from Jewish tradition.

Wilhelm II, in a series of letters to Dr. Schreiber, a distinguished German theologian, and others here defines his attitude. The ex-Kaiser's letters, excerpts from which are published with his permission, are hailed by some German theologians as stating the crux of the problem.

Following the ex-Kaiser's statement is an article in which Rabbi Nathan Krass of Temple Emanu-El, New York City, points out what he regards as errors in that statement and sums up the Jewish religious attitude.

I. Denial of Christ's Divinity the Barrier to Reconciliation

By WILHELM HOHENZOLLERN

Former Emperor of Germany

MODERN Jewish writers, like Rabbi Joseph Klausner of Jerusalem, author of *Jesus of Nazareth*, concede the actual historical existence of the Saviour. Others are prepared to go even further. They declare their willingness to accept Jesus as a teacher of ethics. No such admissions suffice to bridge the gulf between Judaism and Christianity.

This must be obvious to any one who

understands the fundamental tenets of the Christian religion. To elucidate the problem is to serve Jew and Gentile alike. In interpreting, without personal animosity of any kind, the simple principles which underlie our faith, I neither invite nor desire controversial discussion.

The essence of Christianity is the divinity of Jesus. He is the Son of God, sent to redeem the sins of mankind. By

this redemption God adopts us again as His children. We become the brothers of Christ. When Christ came to earth He did not recognize man as God's children. No! He offered them in His father's name to adopt them as children of God. This is the most important doctrine of Christianity. It is the cornerstone upon which rest alike the three great branches of the Christian faith: Protestantism, Roman Catholicism and the Eastern Church.

All religions are based on the belief in God in some form. But no religion except ours stipulates the belief in Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of mankind. That is exclusively an asset of Christianity, by which it differs from all other religions. It is the supreme touchstone of the faith.

To accept Jesus, stripped of His divinity, is to destroy Christianity. A Jewish spokesman quoted in the American press is credited with the statement, "The very foundations of morality are contained in the unparalleled code of ethics which comprises the teachings of Jesus." To call the Saviour Son of God merely a teacher of a code of ethics and of morality is to place Him on the same level with other great human moralists such as, for instance, Plato.

There can be no shilly-shallying with words! The Lord is no simple teacher of morality, no mere propounder of a code of ethics, but the Son of God sent to redeem the world from its sins and to save it from eternal damnation. He is the Love of God the Father for His lost children incarnate. He himself is the forgiveness of sins guaranteed in His person, delegated from God the Father to His lost children to release them from the bondage and the slavery of evil. He is the Saviour and the Redeemer. That is vastly different from a mere "teacher of ethics."

Jesus lays down anew the laws of God—His Father—and interprets their Heaven-born version to mankind. He enunciates the principles by which we must hereafter regulate our life, in opposition to the Jewish law of Moses, as understood by the Jews of His time, their own Jewish code of ethics.

The Lord, not content with teaching "moral theories and ethics," actually lived

a model life to illustrate His and His Father's words and to create a new standard of conduct for mankind. This new standard, finding supreme expression in the Sermon on the Mount, replaces the old obsolete prescriptions of the Mosaic law. Because He introduced a new standard Jesus was crucified by the Jews—the standard of the sinner who must appeal to God for mercy, or the standard of the Mercy of God!

The two main pillars of our Christian faith are obedience and confidence. Implicit obedience to God as the Father of Jesus Christ and our Father in Heaven. Absolute confidence in Jesus Christ as our Saviour and Redeemer from sin and punishment, as our Lord and Master whose commands we must obey and whose guidance we must accept unreservedly if we **hope** for salvation.

THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS

It sounds ridiculous to the ears of a true convinced Christian when a Jewish scholar exclaims: "Jesus was." As if it were a brand-new discovery! There is no fact in the whole history of the world more strongly supported by unimpeachable evidence than the historical existence of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour on earth.

If any rabbi desires to reconcile his faith and ours he must go further and exclaim: "Jesus was on earth as the incarnate Son of His Heavenly Father, the Redeemer of our sins." Any rabbi who subscribes to this sentiment would be on the right track. But he would be no longer a rabbi.

One Jewish authority is quoted in the American press as saying: "Christendom has renounced Jesus in fact; shall we continue to deny Him now that His brother Jews are free to face His life and teachings anew?" This is very clever. But it is not true. It certainly is not true in Germany.

The statement is a covert declaration that Christendom rejects Jesus "as the Son of God and Saviour." If this were true the Jews could claim Him as a Jewish moral teacher of high standing of whom they are proud and present Him to Jew and Christian alike as their new religious leader. It is a hypocritical attempt to

steal the Christian thunder, to impose upon mankind a new Jewish world religion.

Instead of Jesus, the Son of God, Saviour and Redeemer of mankind from its sins by order of God the Father, behold the Jewish Rabbi Jesus, the supreme teacher of morals and ethics by order of Jewish dialecticians! Here we have indeed the wolf in sheepskin. Satan the Tempter in a new garb as moralist. Breakers ahead!

Jesus spoke to the Jews of his own day in language they could understand, but He gave us the New Sanction. In a recent letter to a German Fundamentalist I pointed out the important fact that the modern Jews and the Jews of the time of Jesus have little in common with the old Israelites—Israel before and during the period of its Babylonian exile. During the exile Jewish religion and prophecy slowly evolved a mundane and nationalist doctrine which culminated in the expectation of a human Messiah as the head of the rebuilt terrestrial Jewish world empire.

The difference between the pre-exile Israelitism and the post-exile Judaism in relation to the prophets is this: Up to the exile the prophets had a purely spiritual "kingdom of God" and a spiritual Messiah, "the coming Ruler" of this kingdom, in their minds; and though they spoke of God as "Jahwe"—because they were Israelites—yet their conception of Him was far higher and loftier, more spiritual and therefore vastly different from the common popular "Jahwe" as conceived by the mass of their people. They vainly tried to uproot this Deity which was slowly declining into a tribal idol. Discussions, high words, fights were the consequence and some prophets had even to flee, while they hurled anathemas against the idolatry



EX-KAISER WILHELM II

From a photograph taken at Doorn in January, 1926

of the masses. The pre-exile prophets were inspired by the same lofty ideas about God and the Redeemer (Messiah) that the sinners must appeal to God's mercy for deliverance as our Lord Himself.

During the exile, as captives in Babylon under the pressure of the yoke of the victors, the former Israelitic religious spirit underwent a total change, an evolution from the spiritual Messiah to the terrestrial Messiah; from the Son of God to the "earthly" Jewish King who was to restore the old former realm of Israel and increase it to a world empire on earth. The prophecy was also influenced by this change of mind and developed on "terrestrial" lines, i. e., it became nationalistic Judaistic, earthly Jewish.

The nationalistic spirit seized the Jews and developed the idea of "the chosen people" of God (Jahwe), who were destined to be "masters of the world" whom all nations must obey, because they were the "Chosen People" of Jahwe, who had given over the Gentiles into their hands. Everything they did was right and "ordered by Jahwe," who intended them to possess the whole world as "His People" and subjugate all other nations to serve them as their slaves.

THE JEWISH TRIBAL DEITY

This "post-exile Jahwe," a purely Jewish tribal deity, had in the eyes of his people about the same qualities and character as they themselves. They had the "Mosaic law," as they spelt it now: it was a "covenant," a "gentleman's agreement," between them and Jahwe that in case they kept the paragraphs of this "code of ethics" Jahwe was bound, obliged to bless their commercial enterprises and their arms and finally kindly receive them into "Abraham's bosom" as "recompense for their good behavior!" That is the "post-exile pseudo-Mosaic" Jewish interpretation of the original Law of Moses of Israel, which reflected a vastly different spirit.

The Lord our Saviour fought this Jewish tradition by teaching the original interpretation of the pre-exile prophets of Israel and by reminding the Jews of the lofty spiritual conceptions of Israel; without avail! When the Jews crucified the Lord they crucified their own ancient traditions of Moses and the prophets with him, refusing to turn back to them, though the Saviour re-established them by His new interpretation as the right standard of life for the whole of mankind.

The post-exile Jew is dominated largely by pseudo-Mosaic ideas and principles, condemned by the Lord. It is the pseudo-Mosaic element in Judah that crucified the Lord. It is the same element that crucified

the Christian world, that crucifies Christianity everywhere.

The "moralist" Jesus of the rabbis is only a foil to Mohammed's "Prophet" Jesus. Both Mohammed and the rabbis accept the Lord as an earthly human person, but reject Him as the Son of God. They deny His heavenly person.

The belief in Jesus as the Son of God and Saviour exists only in the faith of those who are convinced that we are sinners and remain sinners, good works notwithstanding, unless we are redeemed by Him and by His intercession with God our Father and His. Oceans of sin that we cannot cross by our own power or human exertion divide us from God. They could not be bridged by any human exertions. Man was incapable of returning to God of his own account. God out of His merciful heart sent Jesus to restore the connection severed by sin.

This faith leads to repentance and to prayers for the forgiveness of sins, which can be vouchsafed only by the Son of God sent by the Father as Saviour and Redeemer, i. e., God's mercy is the kernel of Christianity.

The Jews rejected the forgiveness of sin and thereby God's mercy because they refused to admit that they must repent for their sins. They considered the fulfillment of so many paragraphs of their code of ethics, called the Mosaic Law, sufficient to please their God (Jahwe). Such fulfillment they construed as a passport to Heaven. Therefore they felt no repentance for sins which they were convinced they had not committed, and harbored no yearning for One who could forgive them. (Gospel of the Pharisee!)

They were, humanly speaking, good people, content with themselves and their goodness which must be pleasing to Jahwe. For had they not kept all his prescriptions strictly as written down in the law of Moses? Their train of thought was that

The ancestor of the family of the Mandelstams, Moses Mandelstam, was a man of high character & deep learning; he defines the Jewish Religion as follows: "Wir Juden haben nicht eine Religion im dem Sinne wie die Christen sie verstehen, wir haben nur ein geoffenbartes Gesetz." That is the difference between Christian & Jewish Religion in a nutshell.

their goodness and righteousness gave them a claim on Jahwe who was under obligations to receive them into His kingdom.

The ancestor of the family of the Mendelssohns, Moses Mendelssohn, was a man of high character and deep learning; he defines the Jewish religion as follows: "We Jews do not have a religion in the Christian sense; we have only a revealed law!" That is the difference between Christian and Jewish religion in a nutshell.

WHY JESUS WAS CRUCIFIED

The Lord, on the other hand, proclaimed that we were all sinners, obliged to repent and to pray for forgiveness and pardon, that He alone could procure redemption from evil and from eternal punishment. This exasperated the self-satisfied, self-indulgent Jews. Because the principles taught by Jesus which they rejected annihilated their code of ethics and morals as useless, they crucified Him. And now they declare their willingness to "accept" Him as a "teacher of a high code of ethics"!

Man has no "rights" in his intercourse with God. He cannot debate with Him nor draw up a "covenant" with Him, placing our Divine Father in Heaven, so to speak, under definite "obligations" to us. God is the absolute King. Mankind, having sinned, must approach His throne with a petition for mercy. No other relation is possible between man and God.

God never "must." He is never "obliged." Out of His own fathomless love for His creatures, of His own free will and by His grace, He accords His mercy to them. This mercy, God's love gift to mankind, was visible and tangible once on earth: it was Jesus Christ our

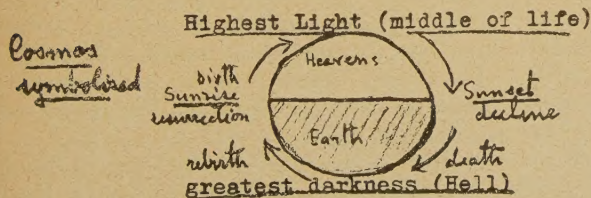
God the Father presented Him—His Son—as the gift of His love and mercy to His children on earth at Christmas. That is the real, the deepest meaning of Christmas. Shall the people renounce Him and reject the Christmas gift embodying the Father's love and mercy for a code of ethics and morals?

No admiration for Jesus as a teacher of "highest morals and ethics" will help or save mankind. Fiery belief in Him as the Saviour, the Son of God, our Lord, is the sole road to salvation. "He that believeth in the Son hath eternal life; but he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." (John 3:36.) Or, to quote Luther's mighty lines:

Did we in our strength confide,
Our striving would be losing,
Were not the right man on our side,
The man of God's own choosing,
Dost ask who that may be?
Christ Jesus, it is He,
Lord Sabaoth His name,
From age to age the same,
And He must win the battle.

Note on the Old Testament

It must be remembered that the mentality of the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor, Egypt, Arabia, &c., was widely different from ours. They—ignoring the laws of nature now known to us—created symbols to explain them. Their language was symbolical; their religious systems were full of symbolism; their writings were the same. Their line of thought was "cosmic," i. e., they followed a line of thought forming a "circle." For them the world (cosmos) was a globe, the upper half of which was formed by the heavens inhabited by the gods and the lower part was the earth with the human beings:



The ancients
Life's line of developement
symbolized by the rising and
setting of celestial bodies.
(Sun, Moon, Stars)

Lord, the Son of God. The love of God incarnate.

The events in Heaven—as far as observable by the naked eye—had a direct in-

fluence on the life of men on earth, where they reflected themselves in the lives of men. Hence the great influence attributed to the stars on human life (astrology). The fact that the line of life formed a "circle" brought the idea of rebirth and resurrection after death to light, which were symbolized by the rising and setting of the celestial bodies every day.

This faculty of thinking "in a circle" and creating a symbol for every unaccountable or unexplainable fact or event observed has been lost to mankind. Because the more modern school of thought—beginning with Aristotle—slowly became initiated in the laws of nature which men discovered. This developed a new line of thought "straight ahead" leading into a dim future away from the beginning of life, a long "perspective" and a mechanical way of thinking, specializing everything and explaining everything, and thus eliminating symbolism and the gift of symbolical ideas.

The exponents of this modern form of thought were Spencer and Hume. Modern man has lost the faculty of creating symbols or understanding them; as, for instance, the modern artist who is incapable of composing great pictures symbolizing a historical event, as was done in former centuries. The Old Testament is an Oriental book, written by Orientals for Orientals and full of symbolism which they understood, but it is mostly a mystery to the present generation of Westerners, and especially to their churches and their clergy; it can only be fully grasped by men who have studied Assyriology and who are fully cognizant of the mentality of the ancients in whose time the book was written and the legends and myths in which it took form.

William

II. The Real Basis of Spiritual Harmony

By NATHAN KRASS

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THE ex-Kaiser of Germany, in his article on "Judaism and Christianity" reveals himself as a fanatic Fundamentalist with mental reservations. His arguments betray a lack of genuine scholarship, unfamiliarity with the principles of biblical criticism and a profound ignorance of the essence of biblical and post-biblical Judaism.

In stressing Paulinianism, which he naïvely confuses with Christianity, he overlooks the very important fact that Catholicism, for example, which certainly is the historic Christian Church par excellence, recognizes not only faith but works. That is to say, while it makes Jesus Christ the cornerstone of Christianity, his divinity does not exclude his ethics. From the point of view of Catholicism, a true Christian is one who believes in the divinity of

Christ and makes strenuous efforts to follow in his footsteps. Mere belief in the Saviour is not sufficient. One must obey his commandments.

Protestantism, as the ex-Kaiser ought to know, broke away from the Mother Church and substituted the infallibility of the sacred scriptures for the infallibility of the ecclesia. Luther's dominant declaration was "the right to interpret the Scriptures according to private judgment." This accounts for the multiplicity of Protestant sects, each endeavoring to make its own peculiar interpretation of the Bible the prevailing creed.

With the advent of biblical criticism a clarifying change came into the Christian Church. Science, in its field of geology, anthropology, astronomy and, more particularly, in the realm of evolution, was re-

sponsible for a revaluation of the fundamentals of Christianity and for a reinterpretation of the Bible. The so-called Liberal Churches in Christendom, to whom the stigma of Modernism has been attached by the protagonists of Orthodoxy, have been extraordinarily sincere in their attempt to reconcile the new knowledge with the old faith.

When the ex-Kaiser says: "To accept Jesus, stripped of his divinity, is to destroy Christianity," he is guilty of an *ipse dixit* pronounced in such magisterial fashion as to remind one of a royal decree. He is certainly entitled to his orthodox belief in the divinity of Jesus, but by what right does he deny to men like Martineau, Chadwick, Newman, Wellhausen, Schmidt, Harnack, Smith and a host of others whose names are familiar to the readers of religious literature, the right to interpret Christianity according to the knowledge they possess?

Harnack, who is a professor at the Berlin University, says "that the essence of Christianity is contained in Jesus' message and not in the interpretation given to that message by theologians. This message consists of a trinity of ideals: First, the kingdom and its coming; secondly, God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; third, the higher righteousness and the commandment of love." In this summary of Christianity the ex-Kaiser will look in vain for the theological dogmas which he asserts to be the very core of Christianity.

When the exiled monarch refers to the Sermon on the Mount as supplanting the old, obsolete prescriptions of the Mosaic law, he knows not whereof he speaks. Only recently Bishop Fisk of New York said: "Christians treat the teaching of our Lord as academically sound and beautifully

idealistic, but they do not believe that Christ's plan of living can operate with success in a rough world like ours." Many other Christian scholars have called the Sermon on the Mount a counsel of perfection, realizing that its idealism is literally not of this world. On the other hand, it cannot be gainsaid that the Mosaic code operated practically through the ages among the children of Israel.

The ex-Kaiser seems to be amazingly ignorant of the fact that no Christian scholar of merit ascribes the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews to the new standard of ethics which Jesus introduced.

The devout denizen of Doorn says: "If any rabbi desires to reconcile his faith and ours he must go further and exclaim: 'Jesus was on earth as the incarnate Son of his Heavenly Father, the Redeemer of our sins.'" How about the millions of Christians to whom Jesus is the ideal personality in whom divinity shines with the largest radiance, who do



RABBI NATHAN KRASS

not believe this dogma? Basing his criticism of the Jews on a newspaper item which recently appeared in which a Jewish teacher spoke highly of the ethics of Jesus, the ex-Kaiser accuses Israel of a desire to impose "upon mankind a new Jewish world religion." The absurdity of this declaration is too patent to need further comment.

When the former ruler of Germany enters into an invidious and shallow comparison between "the pre-exile Israelites and the post-exile Judaism," he indicates a lamentable lack of knowledge of the recent literature on this subject. He praises the pre-exile prophets because they preached a spiritual Messiah, berates the exilic prophets because they taught a terrestrial Messiah. Evidently he is unacquainted with some of the loftiest ethical and spiritual teachings the world has ever received,

the contributions of the exilic and the post-exilic prophets, notably Jonah.*

The ex-Kaiser's interpretation of the Chosen People is ludicrous. Throughout the Hebrew Scriptures the discerning student can detect an ever-increasing feeling of humility, not pride, in connection with the doctrine of the Chosen People. Israel was chosen not to dominate the world, but to serve it; not to master the Gentiles, but to minister unto them.

To call the post-exilic God of Israel "a purely Jewish tribal deity" is on a par with his other declaration that in the last war Germany was wholly innocent.

The ex-Kaiser ought to read very carefully Herford's books on Pharisaism. They will reveal to him a world of beauty, devotion, spirituality among the post-exilic Jews, of all of which he apparently knows nothing. The great rôle that Torah played in Israel, the martyrdom of the people of Christ, the heroism and sacrifice, the loyalty to the higher law of righteousness, all of these things are utterly unknown to the royal exile. Herford, a Christian, says, concerning such damnable diatribes against the Jews who were contemporaries of Jesus, as the ex-Kaiser gives vent to in his article:

Is, then, the Christian religion so weak that it must be advocated by blackening the character of its oldest rival? Why should the one begrudge to the other whatever is good in it? Why should not the Christian be glad to own that the Jew, even the Pharisee, knew more of the deeper things of God than he had supposed and after a way which was not the Christian way, yet loved the Lord his God with heart and soul and strength and mind, yes, and his neighbor as himself? The Pharisees were saints and sages who served God faithfully and found in the Torah His full and perfect word.

The ex-Kaiser dictatorially asserts that this element which characterized the post-exilic or Pharisaic Jew characterizes the modern Jew who, he says, is scheming and plotting to establish a world empire on earth. Such startling slander certainly fails to indicate the slightest desire on the part of the ex-Kaiser to carry out a single precept of the Sermon on the Mount. Does he not know that in America there are millions

of very fine Christian citizens who have come to the conclusion that it is time to practice the religion of Jesus rather than the religion *about* Jesus, who lay the greatest emphasis on the supreme spiritual and ethical leadership of Jesus rather than on the dogmatic interpretation of his divinity? Why, then, does he seem to be alarmed because some rabbis today speak of Jesus as a moralist, but reject him as the Son of God?

The ex-Kaiser in his article says: "The Jews rejected the forgiveness of sin and thereby God's mercy because they refused to admit that they must repent for their sins." Is he indeed so hopelessly unaware of the fact that the most sacred day in the Jewish calendar is Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, in which the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins is proclaimed in triple form? "Repentance, prayer, right conduct, these are the ways by which man may hope to receive forgiveness from God!" For thousands of years the Jews have clung to this teaching. It still forms an essential part of modern Judaism.

The quotation used by the ex-Kaiser from Moses Mendelssohn, "We Jews do not have a religion in the Christian sense, we have only a revealed law," as the difference between the Christian and the Jewish religions in a nutshell, shows a malicious misunderstanding of an epigrammatic statement which by no means represents the views of all Jews. It must be supplemented by the further declaration that as Christians seek God through Jesus, so Jews seek God through Torah. To the Christians God revealed himself in the personality of Jesus. To the Jews the Torah, which is the spiritual tradition of Israel, contains the light by which Israel can hope to find God.

"God is not dumb that he should speak no more." While the Jewish Bible in a literary sense is finished, the spiritual biography of the Jew is still being written. Israel must always strive to be in harmony with the noblest spirit of the age. Intellectually, the Jew is free. Judaism has no conflict with science. God does not keep two sets of books, one for religion and one for science, that do not tally. God is one; not only the Creator of the physical world, but the spiritual Head of the human race; not only the Maker of the laws of nature,

*"Nowhere in the Old Testament are the fundamental principles of Christianity more simply and forcibly laid down than in this little gospel."—Sanders & Kent, "Messages of the Later Prophets."



General view of the Temple area, Jerusalem

but the Origin of morality. The laws of nature and the laws of morality must ultimately fuse into a divine unity.

Israel's Torah is not merely The Five Books of Moses, but historic Judaism. No living religion stands still. It is one of the tragic misfortunes of Judaism that the outside world does not understand it and believes it to be either a mummy existing by artificial respiration, or a ghost of antiquity still daring to stalk amid the wonders of modern civilization. Millions still believe that the last word of the Prophet Malachi was the final word of Judaism. Only enlightenment can remove this staggering error. Judaism has a rich liturgical literature of songs and poems which breathe the noblest ideals, all vibrant with humanity and filled with fervent hope for the happiness of the human race. It has prayers and hymns and a vast wisdom literature, far more bulky than that contained in the Old Testament, all struck off by the Jewish genius despite the greatest hardships through the ages. Judaism's great watchword has been and is, "There is one God, there is one humanity." In the words of the Prophet just referred to Israel always exclaims: "Have we not all

one father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?" Judaism stresses this teaching, that the righteous of all races and creeds have a share in the life everlasting. Believing that all religions are but broken lights of the Divine Radiancy, each endeavoring to illuminate man's pilgrimage from earth to immortality, Judaism feels that its light can still serve to show the Jew the path of righteousness, justice and peace!

The ex-Kaiser may believe to his heart's content that "no admiration for Jesus as a teacher of 'highest morals and ethics' will help or save mankind. Fiery belief in him as the Saviour, the Son of God, our Lord, is the sole road to salvation." There are millions of Christians, as well as Jews, who believe otherwise. They are convinced that mankind will be helped and saved if men and women live such lives as would be approved of by Moses and Jesus. In America, let the "royal theologian" take notice, Judaism and Christianity are being reconciled, not by each faith trying to convert the other, but by cooperation for the common spiritual welfare of humanity.



Are Aliens Lowering American Standards?

I. The Necessity of Excluding Inferior Stocks

By ROY L. GARIS

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AMERICA'S immigration problem is mainly a problem of blood. For over a generation America has been changing its blood. No nation can change its blood by ever so little but that it will change the very nature and the practical workings of its institutions and ideals. Every one realizes, almost intuitively, that in any community, particularly a democratic one, unity is one of the essentials of stability, order and progress. Every American citizen will admit without argument that if immigration threatens the national unity of the United States it is a matter of grave concern. The efforts of the opponents of immigration restriction to convince the American people that immigration does not threaten its unity but tends to produce an even finer type of unity have failed in the past and must continue to fail in the future because they do not take account of the true nature of group unity, of the conditions of its preservation, or of the actual consequences of such inroads upon unity as are involved in an immigration movement.

Dr. H. P. Fairchild is authority for the statement that "Race is inherited, nationality is acquired. Race is biologically transmitted and nationality is socially transmitted. * * * Race and nationality (inheritance and environment), then, are two universal foundations of group unity." Upon their character and the relations between them depends the solution of our immigration problem.

Opponents of immigration restriction in general and the present Act of 1924 in particular speak of "The Nordic Myth." They argue that there is no scientific basis for the belief in a Nordic race as such and much less for believing that such physical attributes as the color of the eye, and of

the hair, or the shape of the head, indicate superiority. There can be no Nordic superiority because the whole idea of a Nordic ancestry is a mythical one. In their opinion, environment is the sole determining factor that makes for racial greatness. A member of the British Labor (Socialist) Party, speaking recently in New York on "A Nordic on the Nordic Myth" stated: "All the superiorities or inferiorities attributed to race are really attributable to a good or bad education or environment. * * * Science has no justification for any belief in the inferiority of one race compared with another."

However, the evidence seems to indicate that the inherited racial characteristics are of greater importance as the determining factor within a given period of time. Even the most enthusiastic advocate of the transforming power of environment must grant that the negro possesses certain racial qualities which make him inherently incapable of the intellectual development of the white man, despite the fact that he has been in America in the midst of the highest civilization for a period of over three hundred years. He must further admit that in the vast majority of those rare cases where we have high mental development in the negro it is due to racial intermixture.

Why has environment failed to accomplish anything worth while in the case of the Indian? Why have the Indians not produced a George Washington or a Jefferson or an Emerson? What strange fatality prevented them from inventing the steamboat or the telegraph or the airplane? Perhaps the environment idolators and the enthusiastic critics of immigration restriction who believe that all men are

created equal will answer thus: "We admit that in the case of the colored races—the negro, Indian and the Oriental—the statement that all men are created equal is a phrase and a falsehood, but all white men are created equal, or the same environment makes them equal."

ANGLO-SAXON ACHIEVEMENT

If this be true, then, why is it that in the United States the Anglo-Saxons have accomplished so much and the other races so little? Why is the Egypt of today not the Egypt of the wise priests of Memphis? Why is it that Chaldea is today a desolation inhabited by nomads? Why is it that Asia Minor produced a culture that was second to none when a great race lived there? Was it the environment or the race that produced Homer, Thales, Pythagoras, Herodotus and the other great men of those days? If environment is the determining factor why has it been powerless to produce another culture there equal to that of ancient times? Why is not Greece the Hellas of old? Does not the same sun shine on and does not the same sea wash the shores of Greece? Why has the environment of Southern Europe not produced another Rome? What chance have the half-breeds of Brazil and Mexico today to develop a great civilization?

The answer is that the idea, ideals, and institutions of a nation—in a word, its civilization—change with its racial composition. The same phenomenon can be observed the world over. Where a great race is, civilization flourishes. Where the great race is not, the best possible environment cannot produce it. To quote Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn:

We are slowly awakening to the consciousness that education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values. * * * The true spirit of American democracy, that all men are born with equal rights and duties, has been confused with the political sophistry that all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others, and with the educational sophistry that education and environment will offset the handicap of ancestry.

Although the immigration question is usually discussed from the economic viewpoint, its racial aspects are infinitely more important. At the present time it is primarily a biological problem, for, if the

immigration which comes here is a polyglot assortment of nationalities, physically, mentally and morally below par, then there can be no hope of producing anything but an inferior race. The character of the future American race is to be determined by the aliens who come here day by day. There can be no "give and take" in assimilation. We must restrict drastically the admission of those peoples whose traits of nationality will not combine with ours, for, with negligible exceptions, nationalities cannot be mixed. "If," as Dr. Fairchild says, "immigration is to continue, and if our nation is to be preserved, we must all, natives and foreigners alike, resign ourselves to the inevitable truth that unity can be maintained only through the complete sacrifice of extraneous national traits on the part of our foreign elements." By this test some peoples are more desirable to us than others. Dr. Lothrop Stoddard puts it thus: "The admission of aliens should, indeed, be regarded just as solemnly as the begetting of our own children, for the racial effect is essentially the same."

The opponents of immigration restriction realize the seriousness of the problem, since they are directing their attacks at the most vital part of the present law. They are making a strong appeal to racial prejudices, the purpose of which is to create doubt in the mind of the American people as to the real importance of racial values. By stating repeatedly that environment is the sole determining factor they undertake to divert the public mind from the scientific facts presented by the biological laboratory. When they quibble about the meaning of the word "Nordic" and try to prove that the Nordic race is a mythical one, they ignore the facts of history.

Why quibble over the meaning and use of a word when it is clearly understood to refer to the Anglo-Saxon-Germanic races of Northern and Western Europe—the English, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, Scandinavians, Germans and Dutch—which were once one great people in the northern forests of Europe? These were the people who originally settled this country, gave it its democratic government, created its institutions and constituted the sole source

of immigration hither until the eighties in the last century. Whether rightly used or not, the word "Nordic" refers to these peoples, and their past and present existence cannot be explained away by repeating from now until the end of time that "the Nordic race is a myth." The purpose of such quibbling propaganda is to shift the burden of proof to the shoulders of the advocates of restriction who seek to save America from the common fate of Egypt, Greece, Rome and of every nation that has been mongrelized.

BASIS OF IMMIGRATION LAW

Let us go to the very heart of the propaganda of the critics of restriction of immigration, who hold that blood does not tell, that heredity is not a factor, that the biological aspects are insignificant. What are the facts upon which the present law is based?

The facts presented in Congress during the consideration of the present Immigration act of 1924, then known as the Johnson bill, were the result of many biological and sociological investigations, the most important of which were the army and naturalization tests and the report of Dr. H. H. Laughlin of the Carnegie Institute.

The mental tests given during the World War to nearly two million soldiers brought out some highly interesting and significant differences between the foreign-born soldiers in our army and the native-born Americans, and also between the various elements in the foreign-born contingent.

If the mental age of 20 years be taken as the point attained by a very intelligent adult and 16 years as the average normal adult of white American stock, the relative standing of the various groups is at once apparent.

The average mental age of 13.29 years for the Canadian contingent was not greatly different from that which the whole white draft would show if the foreign-born elements were substracted from it, since the average for the entire white draft was 13.08 years. Including Ireland, the average for Great Britain was 13 years. Excluding Ireland, England and Scotland together would make much the same sort of showing that Canada did. After the Scandinavian countries, which

had an average of 12.95 years, and Germany; whose average was 12.85 years, the drop became rapid. The men of Greek birth measured below the average mentality of a 12-year-old American school-boy, their average being 11.86 years. The large contingents of Russia and Italy made an even poorer showing, their averages of 11.28 and 11.19 years, respectively, being not far above the level (10.37 years) of the American negro, or of a white adult of dull mentality.

Aside from the English-speaking countries, only Holland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries made contributions that averaged fairly well with the bulk of the American population. The startlingly inferior quality of the immigrants from the Slavic and Mediterranean nations of Europe has been rarely more strikingly shown than in these army returns. Whether the United States has become the dumping ground for the representative individuals of inferior nations, or for the dregs of superior nations, does not matter, for the effect on this side of the Atlantic has been equally unfortunate.

According to the census of 1920 the following table shows the percentage of our foreign-born population who had become naturalized:

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN.

Northern and Western Europe:

Per Cent.		Per Cent.
Wales	72.9	Switzerland64.9
Germany	72.8	England63.1
Denmark	69.2	Scotland60.9
Sweden	69.0	Belgium60.8
Norway	67.3	France56.7
Ireland	65.7	Netherlands56.0

Southern and Eastern Europe:

Per Cent.		Per Cent.
Czechoslovakia	45.8	Italy28.1
Finland	41.3	Poland28.0
Rumania	41.1	Greece16.8
Russia	40.2	Portugal16.4
Austria	37.7	Bulgaria12.1
Hungary	29.1	Spain9.9

NATURALIZATION FACTS

To ponder over these figures is to see clearly why the American people put drastic checks on immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. In not a single case in the above table for 1920

does the naturalization of the "new" immigration of any country reach 50 per cent. Contrast this with the facts concerning the naturalization of the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe—the people who make up the so-called "Nordic" race. In no case is the percentage below 50.

Every race showing a large percentage of naturalization, based upon thorough assimilation, has a high value as an element in our population. Every race showing a low percentage has a low value. The former come almost entirely from Northern and Western Europe; the latter from Southern and Eastern Europe. Indeed, if we had adopted naturalization instead of the census of 1890 as the basis of our quota restriction, about the same results would have been obtained. Such a plan was urged by many and was suggested to Congress by President Coolidge himself as a practical basis for restriction. Try to excuse it if they can, yet the opponents of restriction cannot argue away the fact that by this test also the "new" immigrant is undesirable.

In making a study of the biological aspects of immigration, Dr. Harry H. Laughlin, who had been appointed expert eugenic agent of the House Committee on Immigration, made an institutional survey to secure the facts concerning particular types of social degeneracy or inadequacy of the different racial stocks or nativity groups in this country. Having secured the facts in relation to the number of persons of each race found in custodial institutions and listed under a specific diagnosis, and having previously worked out an expected or quota number for each such diagnostic and racial group, the next step was to compare the number expected with the number found, the result being expressed in percentage terms. Thus, if the quota fulfillment of a particular racial and diagnostic group was 100 per cent., it means that for that particular race, in reference to the particular type of degeneracy, the number found was exactly the same as the quota or the number expected. If, however, twice as many were found as was expected, then the quota fulfillment was 200 per cent. Thus, regardless of the absolute numbers in the different racial groups in the whole population of the United States,

it was possible to standardize and to compare the relative extreme degeneracy of a specific type among the several racial groups.

For example, according to the census of 1910 there were 1,343,125 persons of Italian birth in the United States. This group constituted 1.46 per cent. of the whole population of the United States at that time. Consequently, if the Italians in the United States were equally susceptible as all other nativity groups to insanity of the type which we institutionalize in this country, we should expect 1.46 per cent. of the inmates in all our hospitals for the insane in the United States to be of Italian birth. In the ninety-three hospitals surveyed by Dr. Laughlin there were 84,106 inmates. The Italian quota was 1.46 per cent. of 84,106, or 1,228, which was, therefore, the number to be expected. The actual survey found 1,938 persons of Italian birth in the hospitals for the insane, which was 2.30 per cent. instead of the expected 1.46 per cent. Dividing the number found by the number expected, the quota fulfillment was found to be 157.53 per cent., which means that the Italians fulfilled their quota a little more than one and a half times in contributing inmates to the hospitals for the insane.

SOCIALLY INADEQUATE TYPES

In the summary of all types of the socially inadequate the following facts were discovered:

(1) The percentage for the total native white was 91.89, less than was expected.

(2) For the total foreign stock it was 125.79 per cent.

(3) For Northwestern Europe it was 130.42 per cent.

(4) For Southern and Eastern Europe it was 143.24 per cent.

(5) The Irish quota was 208.84 per cent., which made the quota for Northwestern Europe unusually high. The quotas for all the other countries that constitute Northwestern Europe were much lower than the quotas of the countries that make up Southern and Eastern Europe.

The following brief table sets forth in a striking manner the comparative quota

fulfillments of the "old" and the "new" immigrant stocks, excluding living immigrants:

	OLDER IMMIGRANT STOCK	MORE RECENT IMMIGRANT STOCK
1. Feeble-minded	107.70	173.75
2. Insane	73.27	107.03
3. Criminalistic	81.84	98.88
4. Epileptic	93.05	186.02
5. Tuberculous	89.40	122.98
6. Deformed	66.21	294.96
7. All types.....	84.33	111.69

Dr. Laughlin's report established the fact that our alien population from Northern and Western Europe contributes far less in proportion to our socially inadequate than does Southern and Eastern Europe. Science thus vindicates the conviction that was becoming more and more fixed in the mind of the American public that the "old" immigration, which for want of a better or more precise term is usually referred to as "Nordic," furnishes the best materials for building the American nation. It established beyond doubt that the existence in our cities of unasimilable blocs, with all the social and political problems that necessarily follow, has been due to the admission of strains far removed from the "Nordic" peoples in race, in history, and in cultured ideals.

For the most part the appeals for less restriction are made in the name of humanity. Not only are the immigrants from Europe pleading for the admission of relatives—fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts and "cousins"—but even the Chinese in this country are seeking the admission of Chinese women in order that these "Chinese" citizens of the United States may marry, since American women either refuse to or are not permitted to marry them. Here is, for instance, a pamphlet published recently by The United Parlor, Native Sons of the Golden State, Chinese American Citizen Alliance, which states in part:

The Chinese male population of this country far outnumbers the Chinese female population, and the Chinese male resident here, desiring to marry, must in most cases go to China to seek a wife of his own race, the number of Chinese females resident here being too restricted to supply the demand. Most of our Chinese American citizens must of necessity remain unmarried, or if

electing to go to China there to marry, must either give up their residence and virtually give up their citizenship here, or live separate and apart from their wives, who are debarred from admission to the United States under Section 13 of the Immigration act of 1924. * * * [Then comes the appeal.]

Marriage is an institution sanctioned, encouraged and fostered by civilized society and by the State. Civilized society has always recognized the right of a man to marry, and when married, his right to the society and companionship of his wife. Civilized society recognizes the fact that "it is not good for man to be alone," and that marriage and the association of a man and his wife constitute the greatest safeguard of public morals.

If it is "not only undesirable and inadvisable from the viewpoint of both white and Chinese" that the Chinese do not or cannot marry American women, as the plea for relief states, then it is equally undesirable and inadvisable that the Chinese element be permitted to increase in numbers in this country, as would result from yielding to their request. Yet to yield to it would add problems no less serious than those which would result from weakening the present restrictions to let in relatives and fiancées of immigrants now here from many of the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. If we should ever yield to the pleas of the European immigrants for the admission of relatives—an endless chain procedure—then it would seem only fair to admit the Chinese wives of American citizens. To state this fact is enough to point out the serious biological and sociological problems that should cause the American people to resist such a weakening of the only adequate immigration law that Congress has ever had the foresight or courage to give to the nation.

Not all the appeals in the name of humanity are openly and frankly in the interest of the foreigner. The opponents are too shrewd for that. Asserting that the "scarcity of domestic help is very seriously menacing one of the great pillars of society, the American home," Representative Sol Bloom of New York seeks an amendment to the immigration law to permit European women to enter as non-quota immigrants, if they have been engaged in domestic service for at least one year preceding their admission to the United States

—technically all of them have done so—and if they would come here to work as household servants for at least three years after their arrival. It is quite certain that the author of this proposal is not really concerned about the alleged plight of the servantless American home, a condition of which we heard in the time of flood-tide immigration. Doubtless he thinks that it is a noble disguise for a purpose which will use any pretense to open our gates once more to the clamoring millions of Southern and Eastern Europe. If he is sincerely concerned about the menace to the American home, then he should know that the danger cannot be removed by so simple an expedient.

Furthermore, such a step would logically lead us to yield to the demands of the employers of cheap labor that we admit the unskilled, cheap foreign labor of Southern and Eastern Europe. To do so would destroy the Act of 1924, since it states in substance to the un-American, inefficient employer, "You must adopt labor-saving machinery, eliminate waste, and pay your laborers enough for them to live according to the American and not according to the lower foreign standards of life. If you refuse to do so, then you must be run out of business, for whether you know it or not, cheap labor is dear labor in the long run."

It is not enough to combat such deceptive phrases as "elimination of un-American hardships"—whatever they are—and pleas for "humanization of the law." If America is to be protected properly from

the dangers against which we have fought, wholehearted support should be given to the measures which would provide for the annual registration of all aliens in this country and for the deportation of all undesirable foreigners who are here illegally. Registration would reveal the presence of the alien who is here in violation of the law or who seeks by words or acts to induce the violent overturn of our institutions. The alien who is here legally has nothing to fear from such a law. Those here illegally come from all directions and by all means of transportation.

The objection that such registration is "un-American" is groundless. Anything the immigrant press in this country finds distasteful it tries to discredit by stigmatizing it as un-American. Such charges are usually supported by those politicians who serve the foreign interests in the United States, and by native-born sentimentalists who believe this country to be the refuge for the oppressed and downtrodden peoples of the world.

To stop with registration would but half complete the task. Those persons found to be here illegally have no right to remain. They should be deported.

Instead of opening our gates more widely to immigration the bars should be put up higher than at present. Long ago we reached the saturation point where alien immigration has brought about dangers to the very existence of our country. Being in the right, we must not deviate from the narrow path of duty that the biological laboratory has revealed unto us.

II. The Myth of Nordic Superiority

By V. F. CALVERTON

Author of *The Newer Spirit*; Editor of *The Modern Quarterly*

THAT the problem of immigration should be confused with race prejudice and national inferiority is a detestable absurdity. Yet in America today this confusion is deplorably dominant. In our immigration bills, our newspaper editorials, our magazine articles, our textbook discussions, it is cancerously manifest. We have narcotized ourselves with a myth and endeavored to rationalize it into a science and sociology.

In order to justify our social prejudice against Southern and Eastern Europeans and exclude them from our shores, we invent Nordic nonsense to prove pseudo-superiorities of race and erect cultural standards to prove pseudo-superiorities of civilization. This is a dishonest approach and an unintelligent tactic. If exclusion is to be adopted, at least we should be scientific in our analysis and unsentimental in our illations.

The appeal to race, to blood, to biology is antiquated and asinine. Of ancient origin, this appeal was given modern rejuvenation in the work of Gobineau and Chamberlain, then exploded, and rascally revived once more in 1916 by Madison Grant in his book, *The Passing of the Great Race*. Ripley in his book, *The Races of Europe*, and Sergi in *The Mediterranean Race* had annihilated the myth of the Aryan race and shown that in every European State the criss-cross of types had been so frequent and multiplex that racial demarcations are lost in an inextricable chaos.

Madison Grant's plea against the Southern European immigrants, nevertheless, is based upon this same racial illusion. These immigrants are threatening to undermine the supremacy of the Nordics and bring our civilization to a catastrophic conclusion. The Italians are of inferior race and hence inferior mentality, and, therefore, are a danger to our coasts. "The Polish Jew, whose dwarf stature, peculiar mentality and ruthless concentration of self-interest are being engrafted upon the stock of the nation," was another menace to be annihilated. Lothrop Stoddard has accentuated the same wail. William McDougall in his book, *Is America Safe for Democracy?*, is even more ridiculous. The naïveté with which these gentlemen speak of races as if they were defined entities, clear and tangible, is profoundly pathetic. McDougall with transparent ignorance avers that "the Nordic race is then to be distinguished physically from the other two races [Alpine and Mediterranean] by fair hair and complexion and by high stature"; and, growing ecstatic, he continues: "Modern science is very largely a product of modern Europe, of those countries where Nordic blood predominates." Madison Grant, Fairchild, Osborn and Lothrop Stoddard, henchmen in the same clownish cause, are scarcely less extreme or less dogmatic.

What is a race, may we ask? This is the beginning of our answer. The McDougalls, Grants and Stoddards talk as if races were demarcated patterns, bodies that can be dealt with as we deal with materials, groups and classes. If we turn from this maudlin popularization to the

really scientific work in anthropology, the first important statement that will strike us is that of Professor Haddon, who in his authoritative book, *The Races of Man*, comes to the conclusion that "race names, such as Nordic or Alpine, are merely convenient abstractions," and adds in language that cannot be mistaken or evaded: "A race type exists mainly in our own minds. There is no such thing as racial culture."

DARWIN'S VIEW OF RACE

As early as 1871 in *The Descent of Man* Darwin, concerning the problem of race, wrote in this illuminating fashion:

Our naturalist would likewise be much disturbed as soon as he should discern that the distinctive traits of man are extremely variable. * * * We may doubt whether any trait may be adduced that is distinctive and constant for a certain race. * * * The form of the skull varies considerably in certain races; likewise every other trait. * * * The races of man graduate into each other, independently, in many cases, as far as we can judge, of their having intercrossed. Man has been studied more thoroughly than any other organic being, and yet there is the greatest possible diversity among capable judges whether he should be classed as a single species or race, or as two (Virey), as three (Jacquinot), as four (Kant), five (Blumenbach), six (Buffon), seven (Hunter), eight (Agassiz), eleven (Pickering), fifteen (Bory St. Vincent), sixteen (Desmoulins), twenty-two (Morton), sixty (Crawford), or sixty-three (Burke).

The situation has not altered today. Races, in brief, if for the moment we call them such, are in such a condition of incessant flux and transition that any reference to racial purity is absurd and any attempt to maintain that the blood of any one race, which after all is the blood of many races, is superior to all others is only more preposterous. The superiority or inferiority of a group, or, as McDougall might say, a race, is to be explained, on the other hand, in terms of the favorableness or unfavorableness of environment in which it has lived.

The work of Franz Boas demonstrated once and for all that the biological inferiority or superiority of any race is pure chimera. (See *The Mind of Primitive Man*.) After exhaustive research into the fields of anatomical and cultural anthropology Boas concluded that "our knowl-

edge of the reactions of men living in diverse cultural forms and the study of cultural forms themselves lead us to infer that hereditary characteristics are irrelevant as compared to social conditions, and that anatomical form does not determine the cultural form of a people"; and that "cultural anthropology makes the existence of fundamental racial differences very improbable"; and, furthermore, that "nobody has ever given satisfactory proof of an inherent inequality of race." ("The Question of Racial Purity," *American Mercury*, 1924.)

All scientific research into the field of anatomical and cultural anthropology, and into the problems of race in general, have led to the same conclusion, that relative advance or retardation of peoples is a matter of environment and *not* biological heritage, that "racial interpretations of politics [have] been utterly discredited and can in the future be the refuge alone of the uninformed or the advocate" (*Sociology and Political Theory*, by Harry Elmer Barnes, p. 61), that "community of race obtains its force not from any objective value as a scientific factor in national life, but from the fact that it is a belief imbibed from so many sentimental sources in history, literature and traditions," and, finally, that "the objective influence of race in the evolution of nationality is a fiction * * * [which] is both unscientific and unphilosophical." (*Race and Nationality*, by John Oakesmith, London, 1919.)

At the basis of the belief of these race-maniacs is the conviction that blood tells, heredity determines, and that, in the words of Osborn, "education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values." The fallacy of this belief has been exposed upon repeated occasions by evidence that is as incontrovertible as it is extensive. Boas's work on the descendants of European immigrants is an instance of how ef-

fective and illuminating investigations into the influence of environment have proved in America. Dr. Boas carried on his investigations in the public schools of New York City and discovered that the descendant of the European immigrant

changes his type even in the first generation almost entirely. Children born not more than a few years after the arrival of the immigrant parents in America develop in such a way that they differ in type essentially from their foreign-born parents. These differences seem to develop during the earliest childhood and persist throughout life. It seems that every part of the body is influenced in this way, and even the form of the head, which has always been considered as one of the most permanent hereditary features, undergoes considerable changes.

The importance of this entirely unexpected result lies in the fact that even those characteristics which modern science has led us to consider as most stable, are subject to thorough changes under the new environment—that racial physical characteristics do not survive under

the new social and climatic environment of America. (*Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*. The United States Immigration Commission. 1910.)

JEWISH TRAITS

The significance of environment and the folly of the race theorists are revealed with even greater force by a very different investigation. Let us for a moment advert to a people who at first glance seem to defy our analysis. The Jews are often considered as an "immutable race-entity." Here are a people who despite migration and misfortune have retained their racial purity intact. In this respect the Jew is the talk of the world. Yet, when we begin to analyze the matter, what do we discover? The Jewish racialists claim, for instance, that the most distinguishing race trait of the Jew is his nose—the aquiline or hooked Jewish nose. (For other claims not mentioned in this article see the author's "The Semitic Strain," *Saturday Review of Literature*, May 29, 1926.) Yet



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investigation translates this claim regarding the Jewish nose into a mere pretension. Fishberg's studies shattered it:

The present author [Fishberg] has investigated the subject among Jews in New York City and also in the various countries east and west of Europe, in North Africa and Jewish immigrants of various countries in Asia. The results of these investigations do not bear out the popular notion that the hooked nose is to be considered the "Jewish nose," because only a small minority of Jews have the privilege of possessing this kind of nose. Among 2,836 adult male Jews in New York City the percentage of noses was as follows:

Straight, or Greek	57.26
Retroussé, or snub	22.07
Aquiline, or hooked	14.25
Flat and broad	6.42

Among 1,284 Jewesses the percentage of straight noses was even higher, and of aquiline and hooked noses even smaller than among the men:

Straight, or Greek	59.42
Retroussé, or snub	13.86
Aquiline, or hooked	12.70
Flat and broad	14.02

But a small portion of the Jews, therefore—13 or 14 per cent.—have the Jewish nose.

Many other scholars have discovered this same fact. Other racialists have maintained that black hair, dark eyes, swarthy or sallow skin are Jewish characteristics. Yet Fishberg shows the fallacy of this notion:

Among 4,235 Jews examined * * * in New York, the following were the proportions:

	Jews Per Cent.	Jewesses Per Cent.
Brunette Type	52.62	56.94
Blond type	10.42	10.27
Mixed type	36.96	32.79

The brunette type, which is considered characteristic of the Jews from time immemorial, is thus reduced to only 52 per cent. among the European representatives of the race while among the Jewesses it is not much larger, 57 per cent. [See also Kautsky's *Are the Jews a Race?* page 93.]

As to the skull, the new retreat of the anthropologist, the same relations are to be found. The skull, it should be remembered, is claimed to be an undeviating race trait. Fishberg again, after thorough statistical investigations, concludes: "It may, in fact, be stated that there is no single type of head which is found among the Jews of all countries in which they live.

Indeed, nearly all varieties of skulls are met with among Jews of today." The same wide variations have been found in the study of other physical characteristics often attributed to Jews: susceptibility to certain diseases, diabetes in particular, appalling fecundity, small chest measurement, early menstruation and phenomenal capacity for acclimatization. The immutable race type, we see, is dissolved into a chimera.

The Jews of all peoples are a group that has permitted less influx of alien blood than any absurd abstraction of a race such as the Nordic or Alpine, and if racial, anthropological characteristics are unchanging, that is to say, the result of biological heritage and not environmental causation, then we should discover the Jew as an excellent illustration of this fact. Yet what do we find? In the first place we find that the physical characteristics of Jews, instead of revealing the uniformity of biological heritage, vary always with the environment. Although only a little over 13 per cent. of Jews have the so-called Jewish nose, in Bavaria, where the Bavarian Catholics are noted for their aquiline Jewish noses, the Jews show 31 per cent. of Jewish noses. Snub noses among Jews are found most often in Slavic countries where this type of nose is predominant in the whole population. In other words, the Jewish nose is frequent where the environment makes the rest of the population have the same kind of nose. Noses, then, vary with environment. As to complexion, we find the blond Jew most frequent in England and Germany, where the population as a whole is prevailingly blond, and the brunette Jew most frequently in Italy, Algeria and the Caucasus, where the prevailing type of the population is brunette. (See Fishberg, already quoted.) The head forms of Jews vary in similar fashion. In brief, Jews as well as all other peoples, despite their clannishness and a tendency not to intermarry, change in their characteristics according to the environment in which they live.

INSTABILITY OF HUMAN TYPES

In the light of this evidence the conclusion of Professor Myers of Cambridge University that "the relation between the

organism and its environment (considered in its broadest sense) is the ultimate cause of variation, bodily and mental," is as inevitable, if not as signal as that of Dr. Boas that "the old idea of absolute stability of human types must, however, evidently be given up, and with it the belief of the hereditary superiority of certain types over others."

Despite the accumulation of fact, experiment and investigation that have wrecked the racial hypothesis, the racialists are forever projecting propositions that, in the sphere of their otiose logic, cannot be explained in terms of cultural and economic origin. Why is it that Greek civilization of today is no longer what it was in the age of Pericles? Why is it that Rome is no longer the mistress of the world? Why are the ancient empires of Asia but irremediable ruins today? The veriest tyro can improvise an immediate answer. Civilizations flourish where production increases, commerce finds centres and contacts multiply. Why did the first civilizations spring up along the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates? Because of the fertility of the soil, the presence of rivers and the advantages of the climate. The schoolboy is acquainted with that fact. Why was Greece the centre of civilization during the days of Plato and Pericles? Because the centre of commerce and social contacts was Athens. The protected situation of Greece, the location of Athens, the presence of the Aegean—not racial superiorities—made Grecian civilization. When navigation advanced and the North began to open up prospects, Italy replaced Greece as the centre of civilization. Greek civilization then began to decay and Roman to progress. Until the compass was invented and mariners could venture safely beyond inland seas like the Mediterranean and the Aegean, Italy retained its supremacy. But with the strife over Eastern enterprise and the difficulties that arose over transport routes on both land and sea, exploration advanced, America was discovered and the world encircled.

America was the new prospect that upset the equilibrium of the Renaissance world. During the heyday of the Italian cities Italy was the centre of Western commerce, because the Mediterranean was the

centre of sea traffic. With America open to exploitation, however, and the multiplication of navigators unafraid of the oceanic wastes, the centre of commerce shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. England, whose shores were the first to face the ships of the new world, held the key position in the new avenues of sea traffic. England replaced Italy as the leading nation in world affairs, and so the face of progressive civilization turned for the first time toward the distant North. In other words, it was not a matter of race but of change of social and commercial centres that brought the so-called Anglo-Saxon nations to the forefront of civilization. It was a matter of geographical and economic environments and not racial superiorities that were the determining factors in the change. Greece and Italy are not the great ruling countries they once were, because they are no longer on the Fifth Avenue of economic development. On the other hand, Japan's recent rise to power has resulted from the development of the Pacific as a main water route. The rise and fall of nations is due to changes in their environment—not their telluric, but their social environment.

As to the claim that in the old civilizations it was Nordic blood, and not environmental factors as we have described them, that cause the greatness, this passage from Harry Elmer Barnes's *History and Social Intelligence*, page 222, is particularly pertinent:

All of the great civilizations of Oriental antiquity were, for all practical purposes, 100 per cent. non-Nordic. * * * All of the great European heritage that came in from Egypt, which has recently been so forcibly and clearly described by Professor Breasted, was absolutely devoid of any Nordic foundations. * * * As an actual matter of fact, in most respects, aside from science and material culture, the civilizations of China and India may be well held to be more advanced and mature than those of the Occident. That they are of non-Nordic derivation would scarcely need to be pointed out even to Dr. Stoddard and Mr. Grant.

The high civilizations of the ancient Aegean were likewise a purely Mediterranean culture without any significant Nordic admixture whatever. * * *

The plain facts of history are that the Nordics in relative purity have never built up a single high civilization save in Scandinavia in modern

times. * * * They have * * * fallen short of the cultural achievements of the Celtic and Mediterranean types.

In the face of this knowledge, argument about the immigration problem still descends to the racial level. The cry that the Southern and Eastern Europeans should be excluded because they are of inferior racial quality has been converted into a cult. Its followers exploit every field to demonstrate the inferior biology of these foreign elements. In this travesty of petty prejudices and stilted statistics—statistics that are meaningless without knowledge of their environmental causation—the dialectics employed are reprehensibly patriotic and partisan. However unscientific and false their attitude, let us for a moment consider their futile forensics.

THE EARLIER IMMIGRANTS

To prove the inferiority of recent immigrations it is necessary to assume the superiority of earlier immigrations. But what do we find in historical survey? First, that a large percentage of early immigrants were criminals, and that, in the opinion of Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, one-half of all the immigrants of the Colonial period landed as "indentured servants." Fear of these immigrants by those already here at that time was just as profound as the fear prevailing today. As early as 1819 we find these fears expressed in written form:

This country is the resort of vast numbers of these needy and wretched beings. * * * They are frequently found destitute in our streets, they seek employment at our doors, they are found in our almshouses and in our hospitals; they are found at the bar of our criminal tribunals, in our bridewell, our penitentiary, and our State prison, and we lament to say that they are too often led by want, by vice, and by habit to form a phalanx of plunder and deprivations rendering our city more liable to increase of crime and our houses of correction more crowded with convicts and felons. (*Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for Prevention of Pauperism in the City of New York, 1819.*)

In 1835 a more interesting picture of the attitude then prevailing toward foreign immigration is presented: "Now immigration is the accession of weakness; from the ignorant and vicious, or the priest-ridden

slaves of Ireland and Germany [italics mine] or the outcast tenants of the poor-houses and prisons of Europe." (*Immigrant Dangers to the Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration*, by S. F. B. Morse. 1835.) In this report we find animosity evident even toward the Anglo-Saxon, Nordic Germans.

From the expression of these attitudes it is very unlikely that the immigrants of recent years have been of character inferior to those of earlier date (using the terminology of the racialists). But let us resort to a few facts to fortify our statement against reproach. As we have said, the immigrants attacked today, those whom our race fiends want to exclude, are the Southern and Eastern Europeans. Let us see if their reactions, considering their environment, are as terrifying as described. Dr. Kate H. Clayhorn in the Report of the Industrial Commission (Volume XV, page 491) states: "No account of filth in daily surroundings among Italians and Hebrews can outmatch the pictures drawn by observers of the habits of immigrant Irish and even Germans." In the report of housing conditions in New York City in 1878, when immigrants were only Irish and German, appeared such a condition as this:

In many quarters of the city family life and the feeling of home are almost unknown; people live in great caravansaries, which are hot and stifling in Summer, disagreeable in Winter, and where children associate together in the worst way. In many rooms privacy and purity are unattainable and young girls grow up accustomed to immodesty from their earliest years. Boys herded together in groups and learn the practices of crime and vice before they are out of their childhood. (*Immigration and Labor*, by Isaac A. Hourwich.)

In short, because of the pressure of economic conditions and the difficulty of adjustment in a new country, the life of the immigrant has always been beset with a myriad disadvantages and hardships that have harassed him regardless of racial heritage or anthropological peculiarity. Nevertheless, the racialists repeat their assertions that the Southern Europeans are threatening to debase our civilization. From what we have already shown the absurdity of this argu-

ment is apparent. But let us consider a few of their definite aspersions.

ALLEGED CAUSE OF CRIME WAVE

First, it is said that the recent immigrations, crowded with denizens from Southern Europe, have overwhelmed us with a crime wave from which we have not yet recovered. This is tragic nonsense. Even if the situation were as the racialists have painted, the science of criminology has taught us that it would be due not to the biological inferiority of these immigrants but to the distressing economic and social conditions under which they are forced to live. (See *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, by Bonger; *Criminal Sociology*, by Ferri, and *The Repression of Crime*, by Harry Elmer Barnes.) Even with these conditions to excite criminality, studies of the situation reveal nothing alarming or ominous. The following reports are illuminating:

During the last ten-year period, 1900-1909, the wave of criminality rose when immigration was at its lowest ebb, while the high tide of immigration was contemporaneous with a decrease of crime. (*Immigration and Labor*, by Isaac A. Hourwich.)

Although available statistical material is too small to draw positive conclusions, such material as is available would indicate that immigrants are no more inclined toward criminality on the whole than are native Americans. (Report of the Immigration Commission apropos the present-day immigrant.)

Such comparable statistics of crime and population as it has been possible to obtain indicate that immigrants are less prone to commit crime than are native Americans. (Reports of Commission on Immigration. Vol. 36, 1913.)

It is impossible to produce satisfactory evidence

that immigration has resulted in an increase of crime out of proportion to the increase in the adult population. (*The Immigration Problem*, by Jenks and Lauck, pages 57, 62, and 65.)

As to pauperism and the new immigrants the report of the Immigration Commission is equally convincing:

The number of those admitted who received assistance from organized charity in cities is relatively small. In the commission's investigation, which covered the activities of the associated charities in forty-three cities, including all the larger immigrant centres except New York, it was found that a small percentage of the cases represented immigrants who had been in the United States three years or under, while nearly half of all the foreign-born cases were those who had been in the United States twenty years or more. This investigation was conducted during the Winter of 1908-1909 before industrial activities had been fully resumed following the financial depression of 1907-08, and this inquiry showed that the recent immigrants, even in cities of relative industrial inactivity, did not seek assistance in any considerable numbers. (Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 1, page 36.)

If our analysis were to include a complete study of results of immigration we should want to deal in particular with the economic effects of the immigrant situation, but since we are primarily concerned with the race myth and immigration, the facts we have adduced are sufficient to prove that the contention that the immigrants of today are a menace to our civilization is supported by nothing more than prejudice, passion and nonsense, and furthermore, that the endeavor to establish the inferiority of certain races—and hence advocate their exclusion—by appeals to racial myths and madness, is both counter-science and counter-sense.



To the North Pole by Air

By RUSSELL D. OWEN

Special Correspondent of *The New York Times*

THE ease with which the North Pole was attained this year by the two expeditions which took to the air for the first time to reach their objectives in the Arctic basin was startling. This year will probably be known among explorers as that in which the teeth of the Arctic were drawn. So desperate have these ventures usually been, so customary the experience of hardship and defeat, that it seemed incredible that Byrd in his airplane and Amundsen and Ellsworth in their dirigible should have accomplished their purpose so swiftly. They did in relatively a few hours what men have attempted for generations. They brought to their aid the most perfect machines for long-distance flight and beat the Arctic by leaving far beneath them its treacherous shifting ice.

It was an amazing achievement, after hundreds of years devoted to Arctic exploration, in which only one man ever reached the Pole, that within one week twenty men should have flown over this baffling problematical point in two different types of flying machines. That in itself was a thrilling event. But an even greater achievement was that by this rapid method of exploration regions hitherto impenetrable were traversed and the great mirage of an Arctic continent was dispelled. There may be land in the Arctic basin, but the flight of the Norge through the centre of the unexplored region of 1,000,000 square miles has proved it of no great extent. In the short space of three days the mystery which has always surrounded this hitherto blank space on the map of the world was thrown away, and it was shown that behind the shimmering curtain of the ice glint there lay no lost land, but only vast stretches of ridged and desolate ice fields.

This was really the great concrete achievement of the two expeditions, unless something extremely valuable has been learned from the observation of compass

variations or from the study of temperatures and winds during the flights of the Norge and Byrd's airplane. They were great sporting events, daring adventures into the bleak wilderness of the North, where to descend was almost certain death. Byrd saw a territory of about 10,000 square miles which had never been seen, and made sure that there was no land near the Pole, but he was prevented from exploring further by a leak in an oil tank.

The flights will go down in history largely because of their dramatic character. Byrd himself has called the Norge's flight "the greatest non-stop flight ever accomplished." The sudden and spectacular take-off of Byrd down a snowy slope soon after midnight, after his earlier failure to rise from the snow with his heavy load, was only exceeded in fascination by the departure of the silvery bulk of the Norge into the North. She was lost for two days, and it seemed that she had met an end as mysterious as that of André's balloon, and then came the quick word from Alaska that the giant fish of the air had floated over Point Barrow toward Nome, its mission successfully accomplished. The men in its crew had looked on wastes where no human foot had ever trod, had penetrated to that point so remote from civilization that it has been called "The Pole of Inaccessibility." It was the greatest feat in all the history of Arctic exploration and it had been done with the certainty and ease of a well-controlled machine.

It may be many years before airplanes or dirigibles fly over the Arctic carrying the tired business man and his family on a new and fascinating tour, but these flights have convinced both Byrd and Nobile, the pilot of the Norge, that an airway across the Arctic is possible and that eventually every spot of this great basin will be explored from the air. It took Peary twenty-five years to reach his objective, and months to return to civilization with his story. It took Byrd about sixteen hours

to wing his way to the Pole and back, and forty-six hours for Nobile to pilot his great ship through the unknown area to Alaska. Such rapid success has never been known in the North. The complete success of the two expeditions was all the more remarkable because of the great difficulties overcome in preparation for the flights.

The *Norge* was purchased from the Italian Government by the Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile expedition for \$75,000 and outfitted in Rome especially for Arctic work. So difficult was the problem of flying the airship to Spitzbergen that the original plan was to dismantle it, place it on a ship and take it to Kings Bay for assembly. This was vetoed because of the difficulty of assembling the airship between the time the ice opened at Spitzbergen sufficiently for a ship to get through and the time when the fogs in early June would have made navigation almost impossible over the Polar sea. So the ship was flown to Spitzbergen, a feat equal to the trip over the Polar basin.

The *Norge* left Rome on April 10 and flew the first stage of her journey to Pul-

ham, England. From Pulham she flew to Oslo, Norway, and from there to Gatchina, near Leningrad, where she remained until the big hangar and mooring mast at Kings Bay were fitted with the necessary auxiliary apparatus to receive her. She left Leningrad on May 5 and had one of the most difficult and dangerous stages of her entire trip, for she bucked a high wind all the way to Vadsoe, hardly advancing at all for long periods of time and pitching with considerable violence as she fought her way into the teeth of the gale. After a few hours at Vadsoe the weary crew went aboard again and made the final stage of the trip to Spitzbergen, across the Arctic Sea and through a region where the Gulf Stream meeting the ice frequently produces bad fogs and winds. But the *Norge* was fortunate and had a quick and pleasant passage, with the wind aft all the way to Kings Bay, where she was walked into her hangar on May 7.

In the meantime Commander Byrd, with his crew of volunteers, had arrived in Kings Bay aboard the steamship *Chantier*. The bay was filled with ice, and he found, to his disappointment, that a Norwegian



The polar regions explored by Byrd and Amundsen, showing their respective routes



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The harbor at Kings Bay, which was so congested with ice that preparations for flying were made with difficulty. This photograph was taken at 9 o'clock in the evening

gunboat was tied up to the only dock, that of the coal company, and would not finish fueling for several days. The Captain of the gunboat did not wish to let Commander Byrd dock his ship there during the night for unloading because to do so would subject his own vessel to the danger of ice in the bay and also keep his crew up twenty-four hours. So Byrd was forced to take his plane ashore on pontoons made from the steamship's lifeboats, a dangerous feat, for if a strong wind sprang up it would have crushed the boats and destroyed the plane. There was no alternative, however, unless he were to lose valuable time.

Men who are attempting to fly in the Arctic have to force their luck. The experience of both Amundsen and Byrd proved that this year. No matter how discouraging the present circumstances may be, the only way is to jam through preparations as successfully as possible, for tomorrow may be a good day, which, if lost, may not return. As a matter of fact, the long spell of good weather which aided Byrd to fly to the Pole and in which the Norge left Spitzbergen, days of cloudless sky and gentle winds, ended soon after the Norge left, and for days there was wind

and sleet and fog, with skies so overcast that navigation would have been impossible.

The work of getting the Byrd plane ashore and setting it up for its trial flight is an epic of the North. It was begun in the face of discouragement from every one who knew anything about the weather at Spitzbergen. The ice had filled the bay and between the Chantier and the shore were huge cakes and bergs, through which it seemed impossible to force a way. A wind from the south would have sent this ice grinding out to sea, probably carrying the plane with it. Yet Byrd, knowing that he had to take a chance, took it, and to the amazement of the Norwegians got the plane ashore. There it was quickly placed on skis and tried out, and when the Norge arrived a few days later the plane was resting at the top of its long runway in front of the dirigible's hangar, ready for its flight.

The first trial was a terrific disappointment. The motors had been idling for so long that they had become choked, and when Floyd Bennett, the pilot, opened them up they could not attain their full horsepower and the plane did not reach a speed sufficient to lift it with its 9,000-pound

load. It was a gloomy crew which followed the plane down to the hill, where it rested in a snowbank, and gathered about the silent Byrd and Bennett. Then Byrd, with a touch of genius in leadership, ordered the plane run up to the top of the hill again. Five minutes after it got there the crew, already weary enough to drop from their long labors, were at work again renewing their efforts to make the runway smooth and hard.

Down at the mess hall Amundsen and Ellsworth and the other members of the expedition were discussing the plane's failure to rise. There was no doubt that by this time the spirit of rivalry between the two expeditions had become keen and both wanted to be the first to get away. The Norwegians went to bed convinced that Byrd was anchored for at least another day, but during the night the plane was lightened, some valuable gasoline being sacrificed, and when the little settlement of Kings Bay was sound asleep, just before 2 o'clock in the morning of May 9, the three motors of the Josephine Ford roared into action, and with a graceful swoop the giant plane raced down the runway and shot away in a long, lifting flight.

King's Bay is a beautiful place in the

yellow light of the midnight sun. The pyramidal, snow-clad mountains surround a long arm of the sea which ends at the foot of two high glaciers, and enclose it as in a vast amphitheatre of snow and ice. It is silent, calm, majestic, a stronghold of the gods defying the incursions of puny man. And out of this the whirring blue bird bearing two intrepid Americans rose with a romantic beauty which those who saw it will never forget. Straight into the midnight sun it sailed, a tiny speck lost in a golden light.

Then came long hours of waiting, when the men who had worked so hard to get it started sat silently in the cabin of the Chantier after a few hours' sleep. Kin-kaid, the motor engineer, who had tested the motors until he was sure they were as near perfect as man could make them, sat quietly in a corner, only voicing now and then the anxiety he felt lest he had forgotten something which would bring disaster to the two men flying in unutterable loneliness over the treacherous ice. Only a few signals had come back from the wireless, and those had long since ceased. Then, as Amundsen and Ellsworth and the others were sitting down ashore to dinner, came the thrilling cry, "Byrd is coming!"

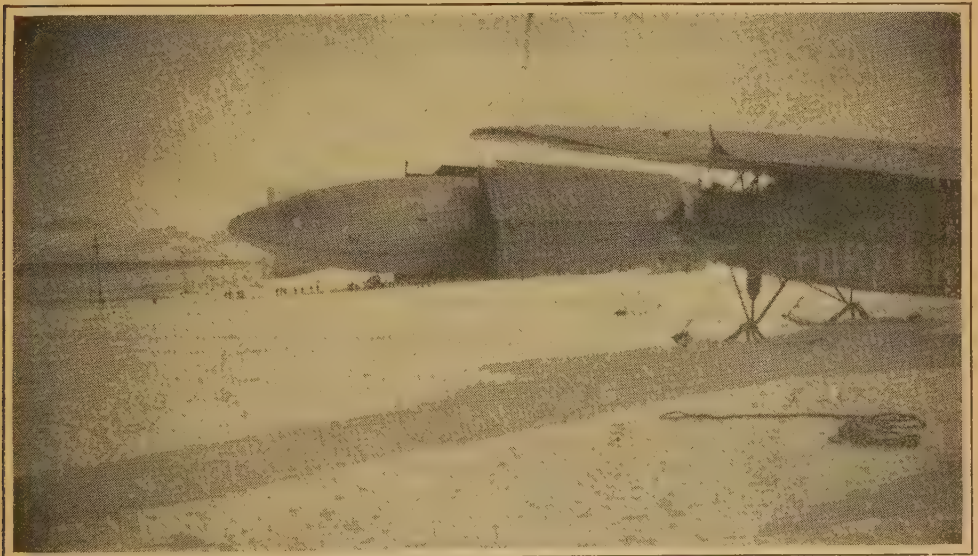
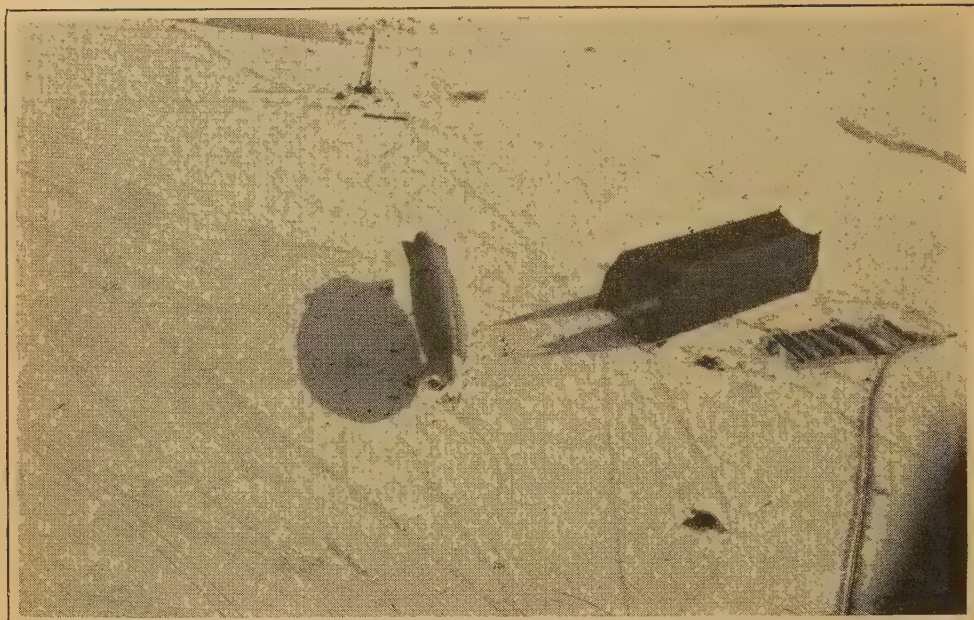


Photo by the Author

Byrd's plane (in the foreground) preparing to escort the Norge (in the background) on its departure from Kings Bay for the polar flight



The Norge, a few moments before leaving Kings Bay. Photograph taken from Byrd's plane

His return was a triumphal one in which all rivalries were forgotten, and the congratulations of Amundsen, Ellsworth, Nobile and the others of the Norge's crew were sincerely offered to him. Byrd traveled a much straighter line toward the Pole than did Amundsen on his unsuccessful flight in airplanes the year before, and also a straighter course than the Norge made this year. He was fortunate in having a perfect day, cloudless, with little wind and no fog. And, of course, at that time of year there was constant light from the never-setting sun. His observation and his use of the sun compass took him on a bee-line from Spitzbergen to the Pole, and after circling that point so difficult of calculation he found his way directly back to his starting point.

Byrd had intended to return by way of Cape Morris Jesup at the top of Greenland, so as to explore the unknown area between there and the Pole, but a mishap to one of his oil tanks prevented the longer flight. The oil tanks were especially made for the trip and considerable room had been left in them for expansion of the oil, but so great was the pressure that a rivet pulled out, and the oil from the starboard

motor tank leaked out in a stream which, for a time, suggested to Bennett and Byrd that the motor might run dry and stop. Although the plane would have flown with its load on two motors, the factor of safety would have been lowered so greatly that they did not think it wise to attempt the long swing around by Greenland.

The performance of the plane was perfect except for the leak in the oil tank, and convinced Byrd that flying in the Arctic with heavier-than-air machines is practicable and in time will become not uncommon. As the radius of airplanes is extended the value of the short route between Europe and Asia across the top of the world will become so apparent that it will be used for quick communication.

After Byrd's return all interest became centred in the flight of the Norge, which left Kings Bay at 9 o'clock, Greenwich time, on the morning of May 11, two days later. Would the big dirigible be as successful in its longer, slower flight as Byrd's machine had been in its quick dash? It had shown itself capable of withstanding windstorms, but what might happen to it in fog which would freeze on its outer covering and the propellers, or

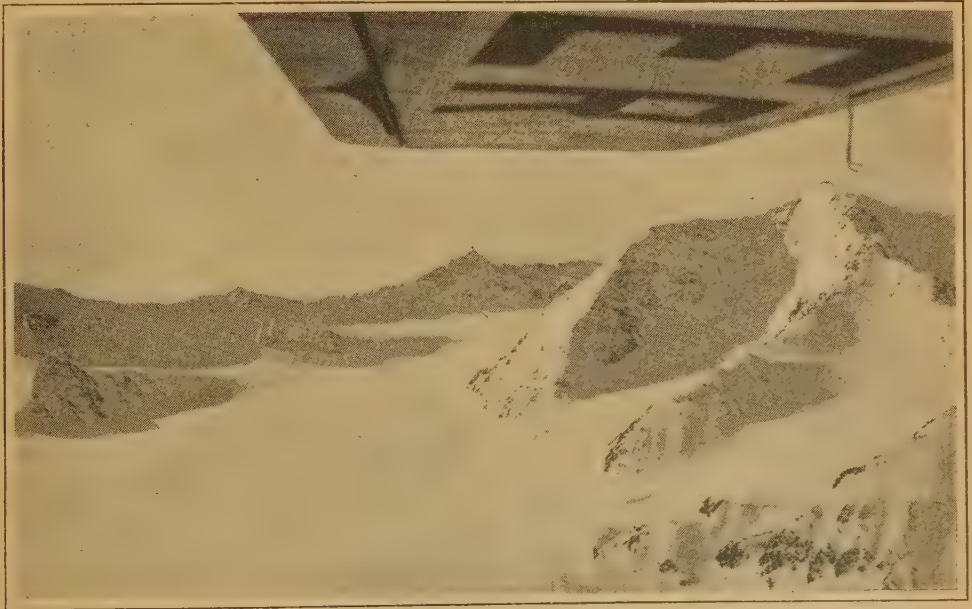
whether the instruments available would permit navigation through fog or the area of wild compass variations, was not known. The weather continued favorable, and as Byrd reported no fog on the Spitzbergen side of the Pole, the dirigible was assured of good weather that far.

There were eighteen men in the crew, including the two leaders, Amundsen and Ellsworth. Some of those who had helped work the huge machine on its difficult passage from Rome were left behind so that the greatest amount of gasoline might be taken. The little cabin was crowded with instruments, its walls hung with pictures, the keel full of provisions and personal effects, and every member of the crew carried his pet good luck amulet, until Riiser-Larsen, the second in command, remarked facetiously that no person could carry more than six charms, as Christmas was long past.

The crew were still tired from their work when they climbed aboard and the big ship was hauled from the hangar. Only men of iron constitution and supreme faith in their success could have started with such cheery determination. As they rose in the air and turned seaward those

not immediately occupied leaned from the cabin windows or holes in the keel and waved to the figures growing small and far away on the snow. Around and overhead soared the big blue plane which had just returned from the Pole, and which now escorted its giant rival out to sea, hovering about until the Norge disappeared over the ice.

The fascinating thing about the Norge's trip was that for hours after she left messages came from her by radio, so that it was possible to trace her course some distance beyond the Pole. It made her progress the greatest sporting event in the history of aviation, with the possible exception of Alcock's flight across the Atlantic. Every hour or two the messages came back, showing that she was boring her way slowly but steadily northward, until at 1 o'clock on the morning of May 12, Ellsworth's birthday, the Pole was reached and the American, Norwegian and Italian flags were dropped. Thus for the second time in three days the Pole had been conquered. A message announcing that feat was sent by wireless from the Norge and a few hours later printed in *The New York*



A Spitzbergen glacier, photographed from Byrd's plane after it had seen the Norge off to the Pole

Times! It was the first direct word ever received from the top of the world.

Neither Byrd nor those on the *Norge* saw anything at the Pole but ice. Great, desolate fields of ridged and hummocked ice, extending as far as the eye could see. It had been thought possible that a long stop might be made at the Pole for the purpose of taking observations, but after only a short delay in which those aboard looked on this long sought spot with confused emotions of elation and wonder the motors were started again and the ship plunged on, southward this time, toward the great unknown area. The messages continued for a time and then stopped, and for two days there was silence while the world far away to the South wondered and became anxious for the fate of the little band of adventurers.

THE NORGE'S TROUBLES

The *Norge* was having her troubles during this period. The weather, which had been favorable, became foggy, and ice formed on the propellers, to be thrown off in tiny particles which cut the canvas surrounding the keel, penetrating provisions and threatening to cut the great gas bag of the dirigible in half. The dirigible was lifted as far as possible without losing her ballast and gas, but it was found that clouds overhead coated the ropes and propellers thickly with ice, and only by careful manoeuvring was the least dangerous position found. Even there the fog beneath and the clouds above surrounded the *Norge* so that she flew in a weird world of her own, almost entirely cut off from observations of the sky and the ice below. At times the fog or clouds opened and it was possible to see that the same dreary expanse of ice stretched before them, with no land in sight, and an occasional sight of the sun was obtained. By getting a line of longitude from this an approximate course was laid, and it was a remarkable evidence of the navigator's skill in dead reckoning that with only this slight assistance he was able to reach Point Barrow. The sun compass was useless, frozen in a block of ice outside the cabin.

The crew suffered greatly from cold during the flight, as every time a window

in the cabin was opened the cold, humid air rushed in to chill them and make the handling of instruments difficult. The wireless was put out of order by ice coating the antenna and generator propeller. Food was frozen, and if it had not been for the warm coffee in thermos bottles they would have suffered from hunger.

Finally Point Barrow was sighted ahead, while the *Norge* drove by on the wings of a stiff wind which forced her along at sixty miles an hour. On the coast of Alaska the greatest peril was encountered during the trip, for here was fog and a heavy wind also, and when the motors were used at anything like full speed ice was thrown through the lower part of the ship. The explorers sought long for a landing place, dreading the possibility of being hurled against a mountainside and destroyed. They had reached Point Barrow only forty-six hours after leaving Kings Bay, much better speed having been attained than Colonel Nobile had hoped for when he started, but now for twenty-five hours they fought fog and storm along the Alaskan coast, having made up their minds to run down toward Bering Strait. At times they were only 150 to 200 feet over the ground, rushing along at express train speed, able to see only a short distance ahead. Out over the ice in Bering Strait the ice began to form anew, and as all the patching materials had been used up orders were given to land the ship at any risk in the quickest possible way.

When a bearing was finally obtained by wireless it was found that they were off Cape Prince of Wales, heading northwest. The ship was thrown about by the wind and drifted badly off her course. It was found impossible to make Nome, and when they reached Teller an anchor was lowered, a member of the crew slid down, and with the assistance of one or two persons on the ground the nose of the ship was brought into the wind and held fast. Then she was quickly deflated and the crew all safely landed, exhausted but happy at the successful termination of their hazardous trip.

The trip of the *Norge* from Rome to Teller was the second longest trip ever made by a dirigible, and, considering the dangers encountered and the difficulties of



Kings Bay seen from Byrd's plane

Photo by the Author

navigation, the most spectacular feat ever performed by a lighter-than-air ship. The total distance covered by the *Norge* from Rome to Teller was 6,820 miles. The trip from Kings Bay to Teller was 2,700 miles. She made the trip from Kings Bay to the Pole, 750 miles, in fifteen hours; from the North Pole to Point Barrow, 1,250 miles, in twenty-eight and one-half hours, and from Point Barrow to Teller, a roundabout trip of 700 miles, in twenty-four and one-half hours. Colonel Nobile, designer as well as pilot of the airship, was elated at its performance. He said he felt that the *Norge* had demonstrated that a semi-rigid dirigible of her type was the most perfect yet constructed for difficult and stormy flying. She was so built as to give with the wind strains, and at times her whole keel bent and twisted without breaking.

The expeditions, both of Byrd and the *Norge*, marked a new era of exploration in the Arctic. They proved that by taking to the air men may force their way into regions where it is impossible to go on foot. Amundsen and MacMillan had said that airplanes were useless in Arctic work.

Byrd showed that with proper preparations and with the right machine men may fly in the Arctic with comparative safety. Given any satisfactory sort of landing place, either on snow, ice or water, the plane will function there as well as anywhere else. The difficulty is to find a landing place or develop a plane which may be landed on either snow, ice or water. Byrd believes this will be done. And as for the *Norge*, her trip is sufficient proof that at least her type of dirigible will withstand the Arctic elements at their worst, for neither fog nor wind nor snow nor cold stopped her on her record flight.

What the future will bring in Arctic aviation is still problematical. There is much exploring still to be done north of Ellsworth Land and north of Greenland, for both Byrd and some members of the *Norge*'s crew believe land is there. Byrd, Nobile and Riiser-Larsen have expressed their desire to examine this area more carefully from the air. Byrd goes so far as to predict that even night flying in the Arctic is possible and some day will be done.

The Greatest Catholic Gathering of Modern Times

By MICHAEL WILLIAMS

Editor of *The Commonweal*

PERHAPS the best way to state the fact that the Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress, held at Chicago on and including June 20 to 24, 1926, was the most extraordinary, largest, most successful and possibly the most important religious event of the twentieth century is to record the circumstance that even the evolution trial at Dayton, Tenn., did not receive more attention from the public press of the country. Considering that the very meaning of the word "eucharistic" and the supernatural religious doctrine which it indicates and the elaborate rites and ceremonies by means of which the Congress carried on its main work, were all practically unknown and bewildering in their nature to the vast majority of the American public, the keen, reverent and sympathetic attention given to the Catholic gathering at Chicago by the general non-Catholic public and the secular press becomes even more remarkable, and will stand, I think, as one of the epochal events in the religious, social, moral and even the intellectual history of our modern times.

At least 1,000,000 visitors entered Chicago to attend one or more of the many general or sectional meetings during the four days of the Congress. A million Catholics in Chicago itself also contributed their quotas of attendance. The open-air meetings in the vast Stadium in Soldiers' Field, on Chicago's lake front, at each of which a Mass, or the ceremony known as the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, was held, were attended by crowds numbering about 160,000 people, the capacity of the Stadium, with other crowds numbering up to a quarter of a million or more listening by means of radio amplifiers to the proceedings within.

At the final meeting held at Mundelein, forty miles outside the city, in the grounds

of the Archdiocesan seminary (training college for priests) called St. Mary's of The Lake, from three-quarters of a million to a million people gathered together despite the inadequate transportation facilities. A violent thunderstorm which broke, with heavy hail, during the progress of the vast procession, with Cardinal Bonzano, the special Legate of Pope Pius XI, bearing the Host—the wafer of pure wheat bread which according to Catholic dogma and belief is "trans-substantiated" into the actual body, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ when the words of consecration are said over it during the Mass—had no effect upon the enormous multitude other than to increase, if possible, its demonstrations of reverence and adoration. Eleven Cardinals, or Princes of the Catholic Church, and nearly 400 Archbishops and Bishops, and thousands of priests, monks, friars, nuns, of all the orders and congregations save the strictly cloistered orders who never leave their convents, were in the procession, or were spectators. They came from nearly all parts of the earth, representing nearly all the races, nations and tribes of mankind—Eskimos, East Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Negroes, Red Indians, mingling with Europeans, South Americans, South Africans, Australians and others.

A brief explanation of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, and some account of the historical background of the Eucharistic Congress, would seem to be desirable in order that non-Catholic readers may appreciate my reasons for stating that the Congress at Chicago was not only the largest and most spectacular religious event of our times, but possibly the most important as well. The following paragraphs were supplied to me by an ecclesiastic attached to the staff of the Congress headquarters:

The Catholic doctrine concerning the Blessed Eucharist has been clear, consistent and unflinching from the days of St. Paul to the Council of Trent and thereafter. As that council declared, the Church has always held that Christ's words at the Last Supper, instituting the Blessed Sacrament, are to be taken in the literal meaning and that they have always been so understood by the Fathers of the Church.

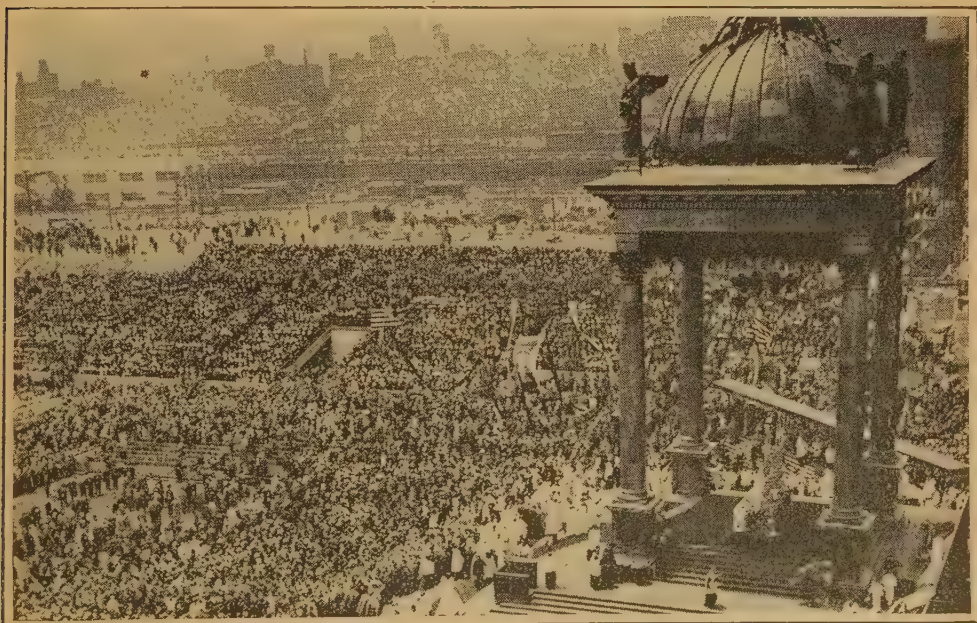
The council then proceeds to explain the spiritual significance of the Sacrament as the greatest mark of Christ's love for men, inasmuch as in it He gives Himself as the spiritual food of souls. The excellence of this Sacrament is then dwelt upon, and the manner in which the Real Presence under the appearances of bread and wine is accomplished, and the council confirms anew the use of the word "trans-substantiation" as aptly expressing the nature of the wonderful change.

The Blessed Eucharist plays a threefold important rôle in the life of the Church. First, it is, in the rite of consecration, a true sacrifice, in the proper sense of the word, as Trent declares, having the same divine victim, and offered, through the ministry of priests, by the same High Priest who sacrificed Himself on the cross, only the manner of offering being different. Thus the rite of consecration, Holy Mass, is the chief and central act in the public worship of the Church, and when solemnly celebrated by numerous clergy

in rich vestments, at a beautiful altar in a spacious sanctuary, with the accompaniment of solemn music, amid the fragrance of flowers and incense, the effect is religiously impressive and highly devotional.

Secondly, the Blessed Eucharist is a true sacrament of the New Law, and, indeed, the greatest of all the sacraments, as not only imparting grace in its actual administration, but as containing, even before its use, the Author of all holiness coming in person to dispense His grace. The discipline of administration has changed from time to time in the history of the Church. Since Trent the practice universally prescribed in the Latin rite has been the administration of the sacrament to the Laity under one kind only. Notable changes have been made in our time, by Pius X, in 1905, by the decree concerning frequent and daily Communion, and in 1910 by the decree ordering that little children be admitted to the reception of the Sacrament at seven years, or upon attaining the use of reason.

Thirdly, the enduring presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, considered apart from its sacrificial and sacramental character, is itself a wonderful mark of condescending love on the part of the Saviour, to whom the inspired text is applied, "My delights were to be with the children of men." So appealing is this silent and hidden presence of God among men that many among clergy and laity not in communion with



Wide World

Gathering of 200,000 worshipers at the first public session of the Eucharistic Congress held in Soldiers' Field, the memorial stadium on the shores of Lake Michigan

Rome devotedly maintain the practice of reserving the Sacrament.

This is briefly the teaching and practice of the Catholic Church concerning the Holy Eucharist, which is reverently cherished as Christ's most precious gift to His faithful.

All other of the almost innumerable ceremonies and "devotions" employed in the expression of the Catholic Church are subordinate to and are made effective, according to Catholic doctrine and belief, by the central, fundamental Sacrifice of the Mass, in which the bread and wine becomes the God-Man Jesus Christ, sacramentally present, though veiled from bodily sight. The Eucharistic Congress has become perhaps the chief of the many means by which the Church emphasizes this fact, and calls it to the attention of her children throughout the world. Everything of a political nature, or any other interest short of the purely spiritual purpose of honoring, adoring and increasing belief in and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is strictly barred from the International Congress.

FOUNDED BY A WOMAN

Although, of course, the official authority of the Church rules the proceedings and decides all disputed questions, the laity have a great part, and indeed without the popular support of the laity the Congress could not continue, and would be void of the effect intended. Indeed, it was a laywoman who initiated the movement, as is explained by Thomas F. Meehan, the well-known writer on historical subjects connected with the Catholic Church, who says:

In this feminist age, and in this nation that has proved the stronghold of the evolution of the economic independence of the modern woman, it is of interest to note that the honor of suggesting the idea of a public and general celebration and glorification of the fundamental dogma of the Real Presence, and the preaching to an unbelieving world the Catholic belief in the Holy Eucharist, belongs to a simple pious woman, Marie Tamisier, who was born at Tours, France, Nov. 1, 1834, and died June 20, 1910. Her pleading enlisted the sympathy and support of Bishop Gaston de Ségur, who perfected the arrangements of the necessary details of the first Congress which was held at Lille, France, June 21, 1881.

Four Popes—Leo XIII, Benedict XV, Pius X and Pius XI—have blessed and promoted the growth of these Eucharistic Congresses, and, in

addition to Mlle. Tamisier and Mgr. de Ségur, the Abbé Chevier, Père Peter Julian Eymard, founder of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament, who was beatified, July 12, 1925, Cardinal Richard of Paris, and a pious layman, Philibert Vrau of Lille, must be mentioned as the founders of these assemblages. The patron saint of the devotion is St. Pascal Baylon, who was also a layman.

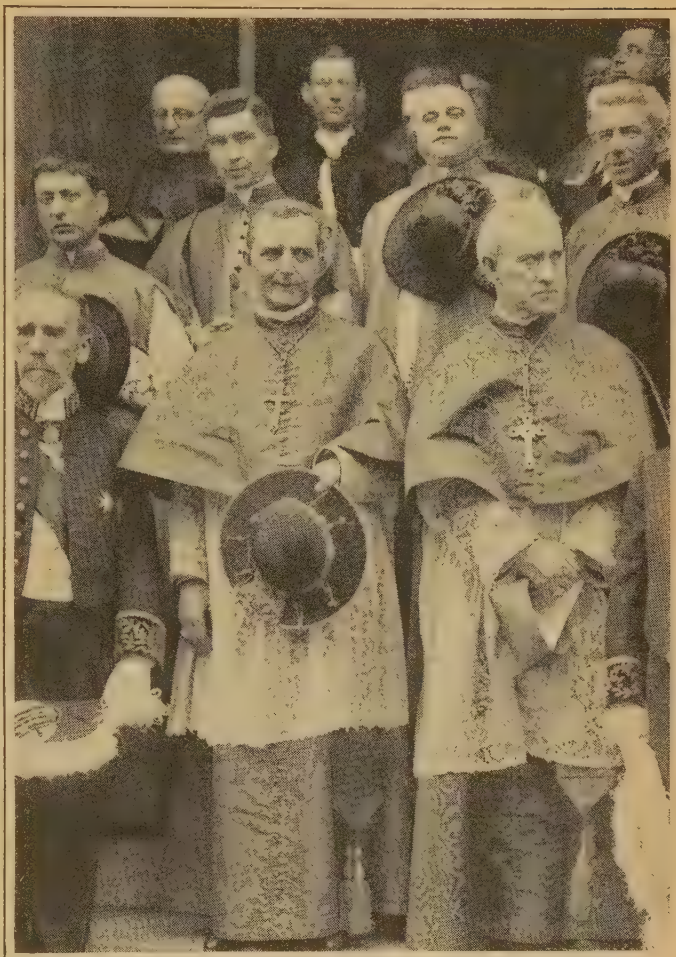
Avignon and Liège were the scenes of the second and third Congresses in consecutive years. The first break from the French origin of the movement came when the fourth Congress met (Sept. 9-13, 1885) at Fribourg, Switzerland. Under the Presidency of Right Rev. Mgr. Mermillod, Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, this gathering mounted high into the thousands and drew to the platform members of the Cantonal Government and the chief dignitaries of the Swiss nation. Toulouse was host to the fifth Congress (June 20-25, 1886), assembling 1,500 ecclesiastics and 20,000 of the laity for the closing ceremony. The Sacred Heart Church on Montmartre, in Paris, was the centre of proceedings in the sixth Eucharistic meeting (July 2-6, 1888). Belgium received the seventh Congress at Antwerp (Aug. 15-21, 1890). Cardinal Gossens, Archbishop of Mechlin, gave benediction to one gathering of 150,000 at that time.

The next meeting occurred in Jerusalem (May 14-21, 1893) and attracted large pilgrimages from many countries to the Holy Land. The reunion of the Oriental churches was advocated here and many of the ceremonies took place on the very spots sacred as the scenes of Christ's sufferings. Special importance was attached to the ninth Congress at Rheims (July 25-29, 1894) on account of the many delegates from the Eastern churches and the discussion of social questions affecting the working classes. Following the tenth Congress in Paray-le-Monial (Sept. 20-24, 1897), the largest assembly of the series met in Brussels (July 13-17, 1898). Lourdes, the city of Eucharistic miracles, convened the Twelfth Congress (Aug. 7-11, 1899), at which a memorable procession was the outstanding event. A special section of the proceeding at Angers (Sept. 4-8, 1901) was in charge of young men and dealt with the promotion of devotion to the Holy Eucharist and the solution of social ques-

tions. The Fourteenth Congress was located at Namur, Belgium (Sept. 3-7, 1902), and the Fifteenth went to Angoulême. At this latter place the French law forbade the procession of the Blessed Sacrament.

At the express wish of Pope Pius X delegates journeyed to Rome for the succeeding conference, which was noteworthy for the part taken by the Holy Pontiff himself. This assembly (June 1-6, 1905) led to his decree advising daily communions, the "Tridentina Synodus." Then followed the Congress at Tournai (Aug. 15-19, 1906) and at Metz, in Lorraine (Aug. 7-11, 1907). Here the German Government suspended a law prohibiting the holding of religious processions out of deference to the Congress.

Not so obliging was the British Government under Prime Minister Asquith on the occasion of the Nineteenth Congress, in London (Sept. 9-13, 1908). The Government requested Archbishop Bourne to refrain from carrying the Blessed Sacrament through the streets. The desire so expressed was complied with. This gathering was the most numerous and from many points of view the most important held until the Chicago meeting. It marked the first International Eucharistic gathering in an English-speaking country. Eight Cardinals, including Cardinal Gibbons, the only American Prince of the Church at that period, were in attendance. For the first time in more than three hundred and fifty years a delegate of the Pope was seen in Great Britain. So enthusiastic were the sessions and so large the assemblies that the London Congress was declared "the religious triumph of a generation."



Wide World

Cardinal Bonzano (Papal representative), with Cardinal Hayes, reviewing the ecclesiastical procession on Fifth Avenue, New York

Cologne, Germany, extended its hospitality in the year following. Then for the first time a Eucharistic Congress came to North America. In 1910 Montreal achieved overwhelming success, attracting the faithful to the number of 750,000, and making a profound and stirring impression upon Catholic hearts everywhere. During the period just before the war the Congresses were convened annually—at Madrid in 1911, at Vienna in 1912, on the Island of Malta in the Mediterranean in 1913, and again at Lourdes in 1914. After the war the International Eucharistic gatherings were resumed at Rome in 1922. The same grand demonstration of faith greeted the

sponsors of this Twenty-sixth Congress as had characterized the pre-war meetings. Again at Amsterdam in 1924, the Twenty-seventh Congress was welcomed enthusiastically in Holland. More than 50,000 people marched in the Eucharistic procession.

In order to carry on the movement with unbroken continuity and an assured experienced personnel at the head of the Congresses; there is a Permanent Committee of the International Eucharistic Congresses. The Presidents under whom the project has made its amazing strides have been Bishop Gaston de Ségur of Lille; Archbishop de La Bouillerie, titular of Perga and coadjutor of Bordeaux; Archbishop Duquesnay of Cambrai; Cardinal Mermillod, Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva; Bishop Doutrelous of Liege. On the committee at present are Bishop Thomas Heylen of Namur, Belgium, President, and Count D'Yanville, Paris, Secretary. Both these officials attended the Twenty-eighth Congress at Chicago. Other members of the committee reside in different parts of the world, each promoting the spirit of the movement in his respective sphere.

The general theme of the discourses at the various meetings in Chicago was "The Eucharist and Christian Life." The following program was carried through, in many languages, including of course Latin, which is, so to speak, the Esperanto of Catholicism:

1. Christian Life hallowed at its outset by the Eucharist: First Holy Communion.

2. Christian Life perfected in its last hour by the Eucharist: The Viaticum.

3. Christian Life maintained in the course of our earthly Pilgrimage by the Eucharist: The Sacrament of Perseverance.

4. Life of Prayer nourished by the Word of God and the Eucharist: Sacrament of Union with God.

5. Life of Charitable and Apostolic Work prompted by the Eucharist: Sacrament of Fraternal Charity.

6. Life of Mortification, both Internal and External, in view of the Eucharist: Sacrament of Eternal Life and Resurrection of the Flesh.

7. Christian Life enriched by intelligent participation in the rites of the Eucharistic liturgy: Assistance at High Mass.

8. Christian Life centering round the Tabernacle in silent intimacy with Christ: Visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

9. Christian Life restored in its fullness by the Banquet set before the Penitent: Return to the Holy Table.

10. Christian Life bearing fruit through the Obligation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice: The offering of Masses for the living and the dead.

11. Christian Life comforted by Eucharistic Communion with the sorrows of the Passion: Sacrament of Resignation.

12. Christian Life transfigured by Eucharistic Communion with the joys of the Resurrection: Sacrament of Peace.

13. Christian Life perpetuated by the Sacrament of Holy Orders instituted with a view to the Eucharist: The Eucharist as an incentive to Priestly Vocations.

14. Christian Life in the home, with its principle of stability and happiness in the Eucharist: Family Communion.

15. Christian Life spreading its benefit throughout the Commonwealth by the virtues of self-denial and self-sacrifice.

AMERICAN LAYMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Among the American laymen who participated in the Congress were Nicholas F. Brady of New York, whose devotion to the Catholic Church has brought him the honor and rank of a Papal Marquisate. Mr. Brady attended Cardinal Bonzano, the Papal Legate, at all the official functions, and marched by his side during the procession of three miles at Mundelein. Bearing the canopy above the Blessed Sacrament were General Michael J. Lenehan, United States Army; Admiral William S. Benson, United States Navy, retired, and Edward N. Hurley. Former Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, Dr. Francis Fronczak of Buffalo, Judge Martin T. Manton of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Justice Pierce Butler of the United States Supreme Court, Admiral Benson, Senator Joseph E. Ransdell of Louisiana, Quin O'Brien of Chicago, Anthony Matre of Chicago, Joseph Scott of Los Angeles and Henri Bourassa, the editor of *Le Devoir*, of Montreal, Canada, were speakers at various of the meetings.

For scenes of gorgeous beauty and magnificent ceremonial the Twenty-eighth Eucharistic Congress set a new record. At the opening in the Cathedral of the Holy Name, where Cardinal Bonzano was enthroned as the Papal Legate, and his letter of instructions from the Pope disclosed the very important fact that unity among



Wide World

From left to right: Cardinal Dubois, Archbishop of Paris; Cardinal Piffel, Archbishop of Vienna, and Cardinal Reig y Casanova, Archbishop of Toledo, arriving on the Aquitania for the Eucharistic Congress

other Christian bodies with Rome was one of the principal objects the Pope had in mind, Chicago had merely the first act of a drama of pageantry and significance combined such as the New World had never before witnessed. The next morning, in the immense stadium was the Mass of the Angels, for the children, with the ineffably beautiful Gregorian music sung by a choir of more than sixty thousand little children. The Women's Mass came the next day, and on the evening of that day was what many observers considered the most impressive sight of the entire Congress, 150,000 men each holding a lighted candle and consecrating themselves before the Blessed Sacrament to the service of God and country.

The senior Cardinal of the United States, William Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, has most authoritatively expressed what may be considered the official Church view of the congress, when he said:

The tremendous outpouring of popular sentiment, centred about the Eucharist Congress, has brought religion to the fore. It was purely a religious congress, and had nothing to do with anything else except the worship and adoration of Jesus Christ in the sacrament. Chicago was a great city, entirely given over to that purpose. That is the overpowering thought. That has had

its effect all over the country and all over the world. The tremendous union of persons around the altar is a great supernatural force. It also is a great psychic influence because it concentrates the attention of the whole nation on a matter of adoration and worship.

It must have its reaction on every mind in the whole country. They may dislike it, but they cannot ignore it. I am quite sure I am voicing the opinion of many when I say that the number of people throughout the country not in sympathy is extremely small.

All people at heart are religious. The bringing of all the different nationalities and races was so gigantic it is felt in the humblest villages in the nation. That in itself is a splendid spiritual result. It will have its further effect in various ways, depending on the individual. It is bound to have a great effect upon the spiritual sentiments of the whole people of the country. And to prove that although we are a nation devoted to material progress in the proper way, we also are a spiritual nation, and deep down in the hearts of the people of the whole country is this love of God, manifesting itself in various ways, but certainly most clearly in the great union of hearts brought about by the Eucharistic Congress.

As a layman, addressing my words particularly toward non-Catholics, and seeking to justify my opening statement concerning the epochal importance of the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, I cannot of course attempt to interpret the spiritual effects

of the scenes and events at Chicago, but concerning its social secondary effects I feel that I share the thoughts of many other laymen and may properly seek to express them. Four years ago, in Rome, when I reported the election and coronation of Pope Pius XI, I witnessed a scene comparable to the scene in Chicago, except that Chicago's event was enormously greater in point of numbers. Rome has seen Pope after Pope consecrated for some 2,000 years. But this is the first time that the United States has received a Legate of any Pope sent from Rome itself. The two scenes are bound together by a special meaning, a special purpose, which I shall try to make clear.

THE POPE BREAKS PRECEDENT

When Pope Pius XI was elected four years ago, on the very day of his election and some days before he celebrated his coronation mass in St. Peter's Basilica, he broke a precedent established by Leo XIII, the first Pope elected after Rome was captured from Pope Pius IX in 1871. Since that time the Popes have secluded themselves within the walls of the Vatican. Each Pope elected before 1870, immediately after his election, since time immemorial, has given what is called the "Blessing of the World and of the City" from St. Peter's Church, and several other of the important churches of the Eternal City. The blessing was a sign of the new Pope's benevolent intentions toward the world of humanity. As God's vicar on earth he dispensed a blessing not only to the children of his church but to all men and women everywhere on earth.

In the case of the present Pontiff, he partly resumed the ancient custom by giving the great blessing from an outside balcony of St. Peter's. His action was generally accepted as a sign that strained relations between the Papacy and the Italian Government have changed, or would turn for the better. But his action signified even more than that very important fact. It was really a symbol of the whole forward movement of the Catholic faith, which is perhaps the greatest and most significant moral and intellectual and spiritual phenomenon of modern times.

Before the World War it was pretty gen-

erally supposed that the Catholic faith had ebbed to its lowest point. Its intellectual opponents freely predicted its death from anemia and exhaustion. There were few national representatives at the Vatican. Modern philosophy of a varied form had seemingly conquered the modern intellect and swept aside the influence and almost the memory of those great thinkers of the past like Augustine and Thomas of Aquin and Bellarmine and Suarez, and the whole host of the schoolmen. What was predicted before the war was apparently justified by the earlier events of the great cataclysm of blood and tears which deluged Europe and affected America so bitterly as well. Catholics were slain by the million on both sides of the firing lines. So were Catholic priests. Worse still, from the Catholic point of view, the priests of the future, the seminarians, were swept away by thousands. The physical structure of the church schools, cathedrals, hospitals, monasteries and so forth was destroyed on a gigantic scale.

Yet, when the war was over—and increasingly so since then—it became clear that the Church was not destroyed by the war or by the causes that brought on the war. Recovering not only from the wounds of the war, but also from the lassitude and negative forms of action imposed upon her by the events of the Reformation, and later the French Revolution, the Church has not merely held her own but has advanced by giant strides. Virile activity in a myriad different ways is now the great fact of her existence; and Chicago is the greatest of all the proofs of that fact. It is a spiritual movement such as the world has not seen since the Crusades or the days of the conquest of the Roman Empire by the earlier members of the same Church which in Chicago, according to Catholic belief, demonstrated the fulfillment of the promise made to her by the Founder of the Church, Jesus Christ, when He said that on Peter, the first of His apostles, He would plant His church as on a rock, and that it would resist all the assaults of its enemies, and that He would be with it until the end of time. In that movement the laity are participating in close cooperation with the ecclesiastical leaders and authorities.

The Breakdown of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscite

I. Nationalist Feuds Between Chile, Peru and Bolivia

By PAUL VANORDEN SHAW

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L ATIN AMERICA presents an interesting and puzzling problem to the student of nationalism. With the exception of Brazil and Haiti, Latin Americans have always spoken Spanish, have been Roman Catholic and have had the same culture. During the Colonial period, Spanish America was subjected to the same government and to the same laws. One would therefore expect that those vital elements in the development of nationality and nationalism, such as community of language, race, religion and culture, would produce in America either one grand nationality or two or three, instead of twenty distinct nations, nationalities and nationalisms, as actually happened.

It is curious that many scholars, either through ignorance or because of their belief in the uniform efficacy of common language, religion and culture to produce the same results, deny, ignore or do not know that many distinct nationalities and nationalisms exist in Latin America. Possibly Latin American lip service to Pan-Latinism or to Pan-Americanism or to the concept of American solidarity may obscure the real mainspring which motivates the Latin American. Although it may not appear on the surface to all observers, nevertheless it is there. Once it is proved to exist, such is the nature of nationalism that it becomes unnecessary to discuss its relationship to the Tacna-Arica question.

Hundred per cent. patriotism is preached in Chile and Peru, as it is in the United States. The Chileans and Peruvians are just as loyal to their own *patrias* or countries as are the Germans and the French to their respective homelands. They believe in the superiority of their own nations as do all other nationalist patriots, and it is this nationalism which prevents the peaceful settlement of the Tacna-Arica

problem. These provinces are the Alsace-Lorraine and *Irridenti* of the New World. The bitterness which they have engendered is just as bitter as the bitterness among European nations and for the same reason. Unlike Alsace and Lorraine, Tacna and Arica have no special economic, commercial, industrial or political value. They do possess a sentimental value to Peru, Bolivia and Chile, and it is this emotional element which makes all the logic, jurisprudence and diplomacy brought to bear on the question of no avail whatsoever.

Because of the limitation of space it is impossible to quote at length from Chilean and Peruvian writers to prove the self-consciousness, the self-confidence and the exalted patriotism manifested by nationals of Chile and Peru. Throughout their writings—artistic, political, historical or what not—there is easily discerned, however, the ever-recurring nationalist note. It is found, for example, in their poetry. The Chilean poetess, Maria de Solar (1806-1866), speaks of a "future of glory, greatness and power for Chile"; "Chilean youth the hope of Chile." The Peruvian poet, Felipe Pardo Aliaga (1806-1886), states: "It is obvious to us that God's will decrees for Peru and the continent centuries of happiness and greatness." He later in the same poem enumerates all the special dispensations of Providence in behalf of Peru.

In the year 1874, five years before the outbreak of the War of the Pacific, a large number of Chilean and Peruvian writers paid their respects and homage to the ideal and concept of liberty. Liberty may be said to be a feticch among Latin Americans. The relationship between the adoration of liberty and nationalism can be seen in this quotation from Francisco Bilbao, a Chilean publicist: "Many forget the sublime rela-

tionship which exists between the freedom of the nation and the liberty of man." Many other Chileans, diplomats, statesmen, orators, politicians and clergymen, echo his sentiment. General Justo Arteaga, representing the armed forces of Chile, says: "Permanent armaments which serve to enlist and discipline the strength of the nation and which are charged with the defense of its honor and territorial integrity, are among the prime requisites of every well-organized nation." Peruvians are no less numerous and vehement in their devotion to liberty. According to José Araníbar "free and moral peoples * * * are the only ones which attain unto greatness." And Rear Admiral Grau of the Peruvian Navy claims that "an important and transcendental mission is reserved to our navy, the maintenance of our autonomy and of our institutions."

Since nationalism is largely a matter of education, one must study how history is taught. History texts are excellent media for conveying directly and by innuendo ideas concerning the greatness of a State and concerning duties of a patriotic citizen. The quotations here recorded are from texts used in the State schools—books whose contents have been approved by supervisors of education or school boards. These naturally represent the Governments.

Manuel Salazar, in a short history of Peru for use in the grades and high schools, defines the history of Peru as "the narration of the memorable events which have befallen the Peruvian people." "The Peruvian revolution against Spain was a glorious epic," says Salazar, who ends his little tome with the assertion that "Peru will always march in the path of progress."

M. L. Amunátegui and B. Vicuña Mackenna, in their book, *The Dictatorship of O'Higgins*, one in a series on the history of Chile, attempt to define and describe a typical Chilean. Incidentally, one should mention the fact that Amunátegui was one of the outstanding historians of Chile in the nineteenth century. He is generally critical and sober in his judgments, but this is his conception of the Chilean:

The Chilean is austere in his habits. * * * He maintains his composure in all the circumstances of life, his expressions of happiness or of grief are never noisy, * * * he honors

those individuals he deems worthy of honor and pays homage to talent and courage, but he will not tolerate those who seek popular praise for themselves; * * * he never plays to the gallery, nor does he permit any one to place him in the centre of the stage; * * * practical and positive, he prefers deeds to words.' * * *

BOLIVIAN PATRIOTISM

Since Bolivia has a very vital interest in the Tacna-Arica question, the commentaries of a Bolivian historian on Bolivia and Chile are worth noting. José Macedonio Urquidí, in his *History of Bolivia*, describes first the geography of his country, ending with the optimistic statement that Bolivia has a brilliant future in spite of the great territorial losses she has sustained. What Bolivia has lost to her imperialist neighbors amounts to more than 1,621,000 square kilometers. In comparing the rapacity of Bolivia's neighbors, after telling how and what Brazil, Argentina and Peru had taken, he says: "Chile, ah! without scruples, militarily and by surprise in an unequal struggle, she has absorbed all of our coast." In discussing other Bolivian exploits he gives us the following utterances, which are intended to build up a feeling of pride in his readers in the history of Bolivia:

In the Battle of Ayacucho (1825) illustrious and tireless Alto Peru patriots (future Bolivians) sealed with their death the independence of their country. * * * In the War of the Pacific, Eduardo Abaroa, at the head of twelve brave men defended the town of Topater; even though seven times wounded, he refused to surrender. "Surrender?" asked Abaroa of the Chilean officer. "Let your own grandmother surrender," and as he died he fired his musket at the enemy.

Urquidí says a little later:

The sublime defense of Calama retempers the fibers of patriotism with the glorious memory of the greatness of the sacrifice—this is the everlasting apotheosis of Bolivian valor which Chile attempted to humble.

With the above incident of one of Bolivia's great heroic moments in the War of the Pacific, which produced the Tacna-Arica problem, it is opportune to mention the great moments of Chile and Peru in the same war. Luis Galdames, in his *History of Chile*, describes Chile's great hero, Ernesto Riquelme, who discharged the last



The Cathedral of Tacna, which was torn down by the Chileans after the War of the Pacific. The building material was used elsewhere. Only two towers are left

shot from his sinking vessel, just as the cannon reached the level of the sea, and then sank with the remnants of the old ship whose flag still clung to the mast as it swept the waves.

Ricardo Palma, in one of his four volumes of *Peruvian Traditions*, describes the heroic deed of Alfonso Ugarte, the young officer who, rather than surrender after his whole garrison of 300, who, with him, were defending the hill of Arica, had been killed, spurred his horse over the cliff into the sea, where he was dashed to death. Arica is thus the shrine of three nationalisms.

I have chosen the two diplomatic histories which best illustrate how nationalism can distort the vision, produce absurd judgments, misinterpret facts, stoop to the use of untruths for its own purposes, and in the hands of extreme nationalists can from the same set of facts arrive at diametrically opposite conclusions. The first is a *Short Diplomatic History of Chilean-Peruvian Relations, 1819-1879*, by Calderon Cousino of Chile. I quote from an English translation published and printed in Chile. I give the author's exact words:

Peru, since she was born to free life with the help of Chile, has been the latent enemy of this country. * * * It could be said that this antagonism has all the characteristics of racial hatred. It is difficult to believe that any country [who] has received from a neighbor so many services from our country up to 1879 and we shall see the form in which these services were retributed. A rapid perusal of history—inexhaustible source of valuable lessons—will give the most honorable proofs of the generosity, sincerity and cordial Pan-American spirit that have guided the international policy of Chile since she started independent life.

With this introduction I shall quote some chapter headings in order not to weary the reader with monotonous repetitions of the same chord:

Chile Grants All Petitions of Peru, 1823.

Chilean Mediation Avoids a War Between Peru and Bolivia, 1831.

Peru Starts Policy of Frank Commercial Hospitality.

In 1832 As Natural Consequence a Tariff War Started by Peru Began.

In concluding our quotations from Calderon we shall give his views on the War of the Pacific and its causes. Peru and Bolivia were to blame, because

Chile, though at first a poor nation, was the first

to establish an orderly Government. Of a vigorous and strong race, but with peaceful spirit, Chile did not produce petty tyrants. This is the cause of her success.

Chile, therefore, being a peaceful and a friendly nation, could not have had anything to do with opening hostilities:

Her international policy invariably inspired sentiments of friendly cordiality. Her prosperity awakened undissembled emulation and rivalry.

Calderon then offers, in a quaint and curious summary, the crux of the whole matter:

History. The nitrate policy of Peru, the law of monopoly and the secret treaty. The nitrate policy of Chile, free industry and guarantees to property—Enormous development of the industry. Finale—And never has a President of Chile fallen under the hand of the murderer.

In answer to Calderon Cousino is the pamphlet entitled *La Perfidia Chilena* (Chilean Perfidy) in a magazine published semi-occasionally in the Argentine by Felix Lajouane. The article is submitted anonymously, but I have rather strong reason to believe it to be of Peruvian authorship. The author launches into his subject immediately and his introduction should be compared with Calderon's:

One is immediately struck by the implacable animosity which Chile has always shown towards Peru. An attitude the more to be lamented and unjust in view of the loyal spirit shown by the Peruvians to the Chileans since the legendary campaigns of independence. Always have Peruvian homes, money and lives been at the service of Chile, her stubborn and ungrateful beneficiary. Even though Chile achieved her independence first, it was always menaced and was only assured when Peru completed the rout of the Spaniards. Chile, in aiding Peru, did so only for her own good, and in so doing placed the first kiss of Judas on Peru's cheeks. Chile, like the Iscariot, demanded money every time the benign San Martin requested soldiers and aid, and, after 1820, when peace and independence were achieved, Chile began her parasitical piracies on Peru, until she had sucked her best and most vital substances.

The following paragraph headings compare favorably with Calderon's:

Chilean Diplomatic Stammerings.

Feline Caresses of Chile.

Chile Refused to Abide by the Treaties of Friendship.

Peru Pays All Her Debts.

Feline Carresses of Chile.

Chile Acts With Machiavellian Uniformity.

Six Years Have Elapsed and Every Effort of the Peruvian Chancellery Has Been Thwarted by the Chileans.

Chile's Diplomacy Has Always Been Disloyal and Insidious.

The Conveniences of Chile Are to Keep Tacna and Arica and to Carry Out the Plebiscite Under Her Own Exclusive Direction [this was written in 1900].

To Chileanize These Provinces Chile Determined to Use Every Means, Fair or Foul, Legal or Illegal, Force or Cunning, to Do So.

Chilean Perversity Shown in *Mercurio* Article.

During the war this newspaper said:

In the meantime, we amuse ourselves in destroying their ports, in ruining their commerce and in making them die of hunger! Final sarcasm: Chileans are like the Jew who kissed Christ (Peru) and nailed him to the cross. To arms is the only answer to this policy of conquest of Chile!

And so on *ad nauseam* these nationalists hurl epithets at each other while trying to uphold their own countries.

CHILE SEEN AS A UTOPIA

Un Pays Nouveau (A New Country) is the title of a book originally written in French by B. Vicuna Subercaseaux. In view of the fact that the author used a pseudonym and wrote as a Frenchman, he felt that he would not do himself nor his patriotism justice if what he had done were not made known to Chile and to Chileans. He therefore translated *Un Pays Nouveau* and dedicated it to the President of Chile with the exposition of his purpose and with the explanation that there might be a little exaggeration here and there, but that this was justified in view of the aim of the book. Let Subercaseaux now speak:

Chile is a country apart, tranquil, hardworking and advanced. The Chileans are the most robust and the most active of all the peoples of South America. I saw there no revolutions; the Government was respected because there is true public spirit among its people. The nationalist element obstinately carries on its work of trying to oust the alien and to wrest from him the initiative. In Chile everything must be credited to the Chilean.

Subercaseaux digresses at times to compare Chile with her neighbors:

There is nothing more deplorable than the political development of Peru. Bolivian politics is no more than a good vaudeville. The gentle, voluptuous and intoxicating climate of Peru para-

lyzes all creative ability. Peru was never so well governed as when she was governed by Chile. [This occurred at the end of the War of the Pacific.]

Returning to Chile we find

that Chile has not degenerated, she preserves her personality, she formed a national soul, * * * The creole soul of Chile is pure, not meztizo, like the Peruvian. * * * Unlike the other nations of America Chile was founded by poor but famous Spanish captains, all Cids, they were not gold diggers and seekers, as were the founders of Peru. Chilean society was founded on poverty and nowhere can poverty show a greater masterpiece than Chile of today. Activity is the outstanding characteristic of Chilean life. Chile is the most advanced nation in South America in primary and secondary education. Not only has a very strongly unified society been formed, but Chile has developed a real race of jurists.

So one could go on picking passages here and there to show this humble Chilean's estimate of his own *patria*. We are forced, however, to quote his concluding remarks:

Santiago is the Paris of South America. The Chilean woman is one of the most beautiful in the world. Chile is not only the country which marches at the head of Latin America, but the one which will first realize the ideal of all peoples—a State of the people, for the people and by the people, and not a people of, for and by the State. Chile is the only nation outside of Europe which has preserved all the honorable qualities of

mankind. The Chileans are the Romans of South America.

It would be eminently unfair to leave the story picturing Chile the worse offender. The truth is that among Peruvians and among writers of all other Latin American nationalities one can find others like Subercaseaux.

The real point is that the same influences which operate in Europe operate in America. The artificial methods of developing and enhancing nationalist feeling are used in Latin America as elsewhere. In one respect Latin America leads the way, not in originality, but in frequency, and that is in naming of streets after heroes, battles, wars and often great dates. And so all over Latin America nationalist emotions are evoked and enhanced by every conceivable means. It is no wonder, then, that there are very strong militant and aggressive nationalisms in Latin America.

In regard to Tacna and Arica its manifestations are easy to explain and perceive—Arica is the Bunker Hill of Peru—Arica is the sign of Chilean victory—Arica is the scene of Bolivia's heroic deeds. For any to relinquish Arica permanently would offend all patriots and national pride and prestige. Therefore Arica must not be relinquished.

II. Chile's Policy of Aggression and Intimidation

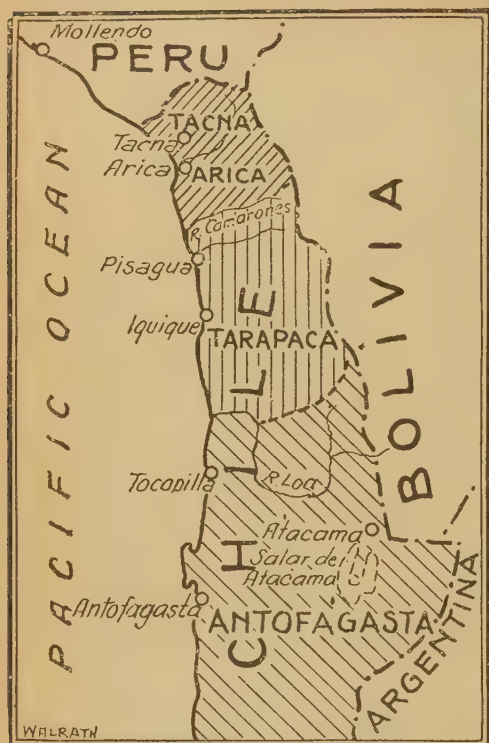
By MANUEL V. VILLARAN

Former President of the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru

THE insurmountable difficulties that the United States Government has met in attempting to solve by arbitration the Tacna-Arica controversy between Chile and Peru are largely due to the inadequacy of the powers granted to President Coolidge as the arbitrator. There is little doubt that the arbitrator should not have assumed such a responsibility without demanding from the parties to the dispute proper jurisdiction and authority in a case of this nature. From the signing of the terms of submission those who were acquainted with the controversy realized that the arbitration was doomed to failure.

Peru and Bolivia, as is well known, were vanquished in the war of 1879. Chile was the aggressor for the purpose of depriving Bolivia of the Province of Antofagasta—that is, of her seaboard—and to take from Peru the rich mineral territory of Tarapaca. This fact is confirmed by General Hulburt, American Minister to Peru, who in a dispatch to Secretary of State Blaine, dated Oct. 4, 1881, stated:

In looking back upon the whole history of events, prior to hostilities and since, I can have no doubt but the purpose, aim and end of this war declared by Chile against Peru and Bolivia, was in the beginning and is now the forcible acquisition of the nitrate and guano territory, both of



The disputed provinces, Tacna and Arica, shown in their relation to Peru, Bolivia and Chile

Bolivia and Peru. (Papers relating to the War of the Pacific, Sen. Ex. Doc. 79, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., P. 528.)

The Provinces of Antofagasta and Tarapaca contain immense deposits of nitrate of soda. Since the World War nitrate has been the main source of public and private wealth in Chile. According to an editorial of *The Wall Street Journal* of April 30, 1923, the tax proceeds collected by Chile on the exportation of nitrate to the end of 1922 totaled \$725,331,724. "The nitrate fields of Antofagasta and Tarapaca were the real and direct cause of the war," Balmaceda, Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1881, frankly stated in an official circular note dated Dec. 1, 1881.

Chile, however, not satisfied with those enormous gains, demanded also the acquisition by purchase of the Provinces of Tacna and Arica from Peru for 10,000,000 pesos, on the ground that she needed them for "political, economic and strategical reasons." The strategical reason had in

truth little or no importance at all. Before the declaration of war, and for some time during the hostilities, Chile proposed to Bolivia to give her Tacna-Arica if she would abandon her defensive alliance with Peru and agree to transfer Antofagasta to Chile, but Bolivia refused, and Chile then resolved to take Tacna-Arica for herself. The port of Arica is the main outlet for Bolivian foreign trade, so that by seizing Arica, after having dispossessed Bolivia of her own ports on the Pacific, it was the obvious design of Chile to enclose Bolivia within a Chilean wall, to weaken Peru and deprive her of the advantages which the possession of that key to Bolivian trade meant to Peru, and to carry out her aims of economic domination of Bolivia and hegemony on the Western coast of South America. With Peru against the wall, following three years of Chilean occupation of Peruvian territory, Chile made the cession of Tacna-Arica an inescapable condition for peace. Peru refused to make the sacrifice. As Luis Aldunate, the Chilean Foreign Minister said: "The most desperate and most disastrous period of the struggle carried on by Peru against the Chilean army of occupation is precisely that in which the only cause of our conflict was narrowed down to the resistance of the conquered nation to give up to Chile the territories of Tacna and Arica." (*Los Tratados de 1883-84*, page 243.)

PLEBISCITE ORIGINALLY DUE IN 1894

After two years of wrangling on the issue of Tacna-Arica, Chile and Peru finally agreed upon the compromise embodied in Article 3 of the treaty of peace. Chile was to continue in possession of Tacna-Arica for ten years and a plebiscite was to decide at the expiration of that term whether the territory should remain definitely under the sovereignty of Chile or whether it was to continue to be a part of Peru. The country to which the territory should remain annexed was to pay to the other 10,000,000 pesos. The plebiscite should have taken place in 1894. Thirty-two years have elapsed, however, and there has been no referendum.

Chile decided long ago definitely to keep the territory. This design has been

known to the United States Government, for it was confidentially disclosed by the Chilean Government to American diplomatic representatives at Santiago, and it has been the subject matter of very precise reports sent by those representatives to the Department of State at Washington and published in the "Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the United States for 1913." In order to carry out her purposes Chile has Chileanized the disputed territory. On this point also there are specific reports—for example, the notes sent by Henry P. Fletcher, American Minister to Chile, to the Secretary of State in 1911. The Chileanization of Tacna-Arica was not confined to peaceful methods for the introduction of Chilean citizens, such as the removal of the Court of Appeal and of military headquarters from Yquique to Tacna, the concentration of Chilean military forces in the provinces, the subsidizing of Chilean factories, colonization, and so forth, but also included every kind of irregular and violent means to produce the dispersion of the Peruvian population after 1900. These acts were, in the main, the closing of Peruvian schools; the expulsion of Peruvian priests; the suppression of Peruvian newspapers; the denial to Peruvians of the right to assemble and display the Peruvian flag; the boycott of Peruvian labor; the conscription of Peruvian young men in the Chilean army; the banishment of Peruvian citizens, and a general persecution of Peruvians through mob violence, either tolerated or encouraged by Chilean authorities.

Peru was well aware of Chile's purposes, and after thirty years of futile effort to induce Chile to go to the plebiscite came to the conclusion that a plebiscite had ceased to be a fair solution of the controversy. It was Peru's contention that Chile had violated Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon by retaining Tacna-Arica after the expiration of the ten-year term; that Chile had deliberately prevented the carrying out of a referendum, and that Chile had perverted, through irregular methods and violence, the original composition of the population. When Chile thought the Chileanization process was so well advanced as to give her a majority in a plebiscite she advocated one, but Peru now contended

that, as the responsibility for the non-fulfillment of the treaty stipulations lay with Chile, the territory should be given back to her. To this Chile replied that her right of possession could not end until a plebiscite had given an adverse decision.

When the dispute was submitted to the President of the United States for arbitration it was clear that the following controversial point should have been brought before him:

1. Whether or not Article 3 had been rescinded through acts of Chile and whether in the present circumstances a plebiscite should or should not be held;

2. In case of deciding the plebiscite should be held, the Arbitrator was to determine the conditions thereof, including the creation of an impartial authority to control and supervise the referendum;

3. Whether or not Chile, being in possession of the territory, should continue in charge of the civil and military administration during the plebiscitary proceedings; and, in case she should not, the Arbitrator should constitute a neutral body in order to govern the territory during the plebiscite;

4. In case of it being decided that the plebiscite should not be held, whether or not the full sovereignty of Peru over the territory were thereby re-established, and under what terms Chile should return Tacna-Arica to Peru. Finally, whether or not Chile had the right of retaining possession of the territory and under what terms.

QUESTIONS FOR ARBITRATION

For the most part these essential points were left out of the terms of submission. The Arbitrator was asked to decide practically only the following points:

1. Whether under the present circumstances a plebiscite should or should not be held;

2. In case the holding of a plebiscite should be declared in order, the Arbitrator is empowered to determine the conditions thereof.

Peru had proposed that in case of a decision against the holding of a plebiscite the Arbitrator should decide which one of the two nations was to have permanent sovereignty over Tacna-Arica. This proposal was not accepted. Instead, Charles Evans Hughes, the American Secretary of State, suggested the following formula:

Should the Arbitrator decide that a plebiscite need not be held, both parties, at the request of either of them, shall discuss the situation brought

about by such award. It is understood, in the interest of peace and good order, that in such an event and pending an agreement as to the disposition of the territory the administrative organization of the provinces shall not be disturbed.

Peru moved then that if Chile and Peru should not be able to arrive at an agreement the arbitrator should be empowered to decide the conflict. This demand was also rejected. Secretary Hughes allowed only the following addition to his formula:

In the event that no agreement should ensue, both Governments will solicit, for this purpose, the good offices of the Government of the United States of America.

Thus the agreement referred to gave the arbitrator very limited powers to act, and left only two prospects: a plebiscite or the *status quo*, the United States Government acting in the latter case as a friendly adviser in a diplomatic agreement. This pointed in turn to two possibilities: either another indefinite postponement of the controversy, with Chile retaining possession of the territory, or a friendly compromise agreed upon under the auspices of the United States Government. If no compromise were possible, evidently American mediation was to leave the dispute exactly where it was before, and possibly to render it even more acute.

President Coolidge made known his award on March 4, 1925, his decision being in favor of holding the plebiscite. The award created "a competent and impartial" authority, charged with the supervision of the plebiscite and the plebiscitary proceedings. This authority was a Plebiscitary Commission, assisted by a Board of Registration and Election. The commission consisted of three members, one appointed by the Peruvian Government, another by the Chilean Government and a third member—the President of the commission—appointed by the President of the United States. As the President of the commission represented the arbitrator and the latter had reserved to himself, furthermore, the right to revise its decisions, it is clear that the arbitrator assumed the responsibility of controlling and carrying out the plebiscite. The success of the referendum was dependent upon the extent of the powers granted the Plebiscitary Commission by the arbitra-

tor. Unfortunately, these were not and could not be adequate, and this is the main reason why the plebiscite failed.

According to the award, Chilean rule was to continue throughout the period of the plebiscitary proceedings and the plebiscite. Therefore, there were two co-existent authorities within the territory. This was the essential defect of organization that proved fatal. The authority of Chile and that of the Plebiscitary Commission were in constant friction. The Chilean Government had at its command the political, judicial, military and police organizations, whereas the power of the Plebiscitary Commission was purely a moral one, and it found itself impotent to enforce its resolutions. The guarantees which General Pershing, with the arbitrator's approval, regarded as essential prerequisites for a free and fair vote were not loyally complied with by Chile, and although President Coolidge informed Peru "that he will leave nothing undone which scrupulous care and attention on his part can accomplish in securing a fair election and equal justice to both parties," this promise had no value other than that of honesty of purpose.

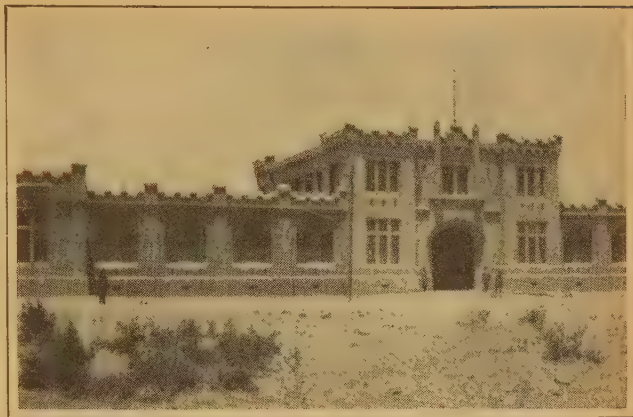
NEUTRALIZATION REFUSED

An orderly, fair and honest plebiscite was practicable only by means of a temporary neutralization of the disputed territory, which would have placed the government thereof in the hands of a power devoid of any interest in the outcome of the referendum. Peru petitioned to that effect soon after the arbitral decision was made known, but President Coolidge replied that "this request goes beyond the scope of the authority of the arbitrator under the terms of submission and the findings of the award." It may be pointed out, however, that the terms of submission were discussed under the auspices of Secretary Hughes, and that there was then an opportunity for considering whether it was advisable on the part of the United States Government to assume responsibility for conducting a plebiscite in a territory controlled by one of the parties. Nor were there lacking ample grounds to justify this policy. An international referendum, just as any election, must be an

act of free will, which means equal opportunities and equal rights for the voters of both parties, but it is difficult to make free voting consistent with actual control, military, civil and otherwise, of the plebiscitary zone by one of the parties. And there was, moreover, a substantial difference between acknowledging the right of Chile to occupy and govern the territory up to the holding of a plebiscite and permitting Chile to control the military and civil authority during the plebiscite.

In any event, if the Treaty of Ancon was not clear on this point, the United States Government would have been justified before assuming arbitral functions in then suggesting to Chile and Peru that they overcome by common agreement the difficulties arising from the obscurity of the treaty. If the terms of submission had empowered the arbitrator to direct Chile temporarily to give up control of the disputed territory and to substitute American or other neutral authorities and forces for Chilean authorities and forces, the award might have been carried out satisfactorily long ago. Although the Plebiscitary Commission headed by General Pershing began its task at Arica on Aug. 5, 1925, Chile continued to carry on her Chileanization policy. Evidently a real plebiscite was not practicable in an atmosphere of disorder and persecutions such as have since been described in General Lassiter's report. General Pershing thought it was best to watch and wait, obviously believing that friendly advice and warning would promote better feelings. But postponement did not please the Chileans. General Pershing's insistence on the advisability of surrounding the plebiscite with proper guarantees was disappointing to Chilean public opinion, for in Chile it was believed that the plebiscite was "to be only an expedient to make formal the permanent annexation of Tacna-Arica to Chile," as ex-President Alessandri of Chile put it.

There followed continuous urgings to



The barracks in Arica, where the plebiscitary conferences were held

the President of the commission that he issue the rules and fix early dates for the registration of voters and the election. At the beginning of October, 1925, General Pershing presented a motion which was approved on Nov. 4 by his vote and that of the Peruvian member of the commission, setting forth what were regarded as essential prerequisites "for further progress" toward a free and fair plebiscite. They included the removal or reduction of armed forces and secret service men, freedom of movement and similar civil liberties. All these measures were to be taken in so far as they did not affect Chile's rights as established by the Treaty of Ancon. General Pershing, expecting that Chile would comply with these regulations, refrained for the moment from fixing the dates for the carrying out of the plebiscite, thereby rousing a storm of Chilean criticism. The Chilean delegate, Agustin Edwards, withdrew from the sessions by order of his Government, and the Chilean Minister of Foreign Relations addressed a circular to the Chilean legations abroad openly accusing General Pershing of cooperating, at Peruvian instigation, in "frustrating the fulfillment of the plebiscite." This communication was also presented to the League of Nations. Señor Edwards attended the session of Nov. 28 in order to demand once more the fixing of dates, and delivered a violent speech against General Pershing, with the object, as he said, of exposing to the rest of the world the true

cause of the difficulties which were preventing the holding of the plebiscite. This cause was none other, according to Señor Edwards, than the partiality of General Pershing in favor of the Peruvians, whose tactics of postponement he was encouraging, at the same time giving credence and moral force to "futile accusations of intimidation."

CHILE ATTACKS GENERAL PERSHING

This attack on General Pershing was published by the Chileans, but the General's reply was not published, though it was reported that he strongly denounced the character of the Chilean Administration in Arica, accusing it of maintaining a reign of terror, and that when the State Department thought it advisable not to publish his speech the General, in private conversation, said that the situation was similar to that of a commander in the trenches who asks for an artillery barrage and who is told to undertake the attack with a preparatory rifle fire. General Pershing's opinion on the Arica situation was also indicated in the circular note already mentioned that was sent by the Chilean Foreign Minister to the League of Nations and the Chilean legations:

General Pershing has said in a speech delivered during the commission's meeting of Nov. 21 that the plebiscite cannot be carried out until a change is brought about from the state of fear and terror now prevailing in the mind of the Peruvian electorate, to a sentiment of confidence and security.

Up to the time General Pershing left Arica in January, 1926, the situation had not changed. A motion presented by him and approved against the dissenting vote of Chile, declared

that the foregoing schedule of dates is based on the assumption that both parties to the plebiscite will proceed expeditiously and in good faith to give full effect to the resolutions and regulations heretofore adopted or which may hereafter be adopted by the commission to the end that a fair and orderly plebiscite may be held.

It is further provided that the commission hereby respectfully calls upon his Excellency, the Chilean member, formally to advise the commission clearly and specifically whether or not the Chilean Government is prepared henceforth to cooperate effectively with the commission, and especially to instruct its officials and representa-

tives in Tacna-Arica thereafter to cooperate adequately in carrying out the regulations and resolutions heretofore adopted or which may hereafter be adopted by the commission.

This specific declaration which General Pershing desired was never demanded from Chile. President Coolidge did not deem it prudent to insist on it, as would appear from the final portion of his decision of Jan. 15 in response to the Chilean appeal. On his return to the United States the General stated to the press that he saw only failure as the result unless there was a decided change in the attitude of the Chilean residents of the disputed territory.

General Lassiter, who succeeded General Pershing as President of the commission, was equally unsuccessful in bringing about the creation in Tacna and Arica of conditions of order and protection equal for both Peruvians and Chileans. At the date fixed the registration of voters took place, but the Chileans were the only ones that registered as the Peruvians abstained by order of their Government. It was stated in Washington that this order of the Peruvian Government was dictated "at the suggestion of Secretary Kellogg when the tender of his good offices was accepted." A unilateral registration went on which Peru did not recognize as valid.

Although General Lassiter in the session of the Plebiscitary Commission of March 23 said that "the previous requirements for the holding of an honest plebiscite have not been complied with," he denied his vote to the Peruvian proposition to postpone the plebiscite until those guarantees were effective. Yet the experience of nine months of fruitless labor seemed to indicate that the arbitrator, because of insufficient authority, could not overcome the obstacles to a proper plebiscite. If new and energetic measures were ordered, Chile would not cooperate. If they were not ordered, Peru would not cooperate. This was the embarrassing situation which doubtless caused Secretary of State Kellogg to tender the good offices of the Washington Government in the hope of securing a diplomatic solution of the dispute.

While the solution was being discussed the plebiscite was not abandoned, nor was

it formally postponed by agreement of both sides or by decision of the arbitrator. Peru accepted discussion of a solution on the understanding that the plebiscite remain suspended. Chile understood that the discussion of a solution did not interfere with the continuance of the plebiscite. This difference of viewpoint was as prejudicial to the plebiscite as to a direct solution of the problem. Finally the attempt to hold a plebiscite failed because, as General Lassiter said, on June 14, 1926, "a free and fair plebiscite as required by the award is impracticable of accomplishment." In the address which he delivered at the session of the commission on June 14 in support of his motion to abandon the plebiscite he set forth the causes that made his action inevitable and described the conditions (as will be seen from the text of this important document printed elsewhere in this magazine), that made a fair and honest plebiscite impossible.

After this unsuccessful attempt at a referendum, there is little doubt that a plebiscite, as a means of solving the problem in the future, is out of the question. Either the situation will revert to the same unsettled state as before or new efforts will have to be made to resume negotiations in Washington. Negotiations were actually started in April under the auspices of the United States Government between the Chilean and Peruvian Ambassadors; but serious divergences hindered the acceptance of any of the formulas of adjustment suggested by Secretary Kellogg. Following General Lassiter's resolution to abandon the plebiscite, Chile on June 18 served notice that she regarded the negotiations as terminated. However, a circular letter from Santiago to the Chilean diplomatic representative abroad indicated that the door was left open for a resumption of the efforts toward an amicable settlement.



Four exiled natives who were brought back by the Peruvian delegation to serve in official capacities and who were assaulted and badly injured by Chileans in Arica

may induce the Chilean Government and public opinion to look at the situation with serious concern. The fact that Chile has been declared responsible for the failure of the plebiscite destroys whatever legal title Chile may have had to remain in possession of the provinces of Tacna-Arica pending the holding of a plebiscite. It is also interesting to note that the American legal advisers at Arica, E. A. Kreger and W. C. Denis, in a memorandum presented on Oct. 7, 1925, to the President of the Plebiscitary Commission, General Pershing, when the measures to guarantee a fair plebiscite were under study, set forth the legal consequences of the non-compliance by Chile with the conditions required for an honest referendum:

Indeed, Chile's right to retain possession of the territory in dispute is conditioned upon her agreement for the plebiscite, which necessarily implies the use of her authority properly to safeguard it. Any failure on her part to do this, particularly when requested by the Plebiscitary Commission, might not only justify the setting aside of any plebiscite vitiated thereby, as provided in the award, but might turn the whole logic of the award against Chile and, if persisted sufficiently, might amount to a violation of the Treaty of Ancon, and a forfeiture of Chile's rights in the provinces thereunder.

One can hardly imagine the Chilean Government officially sponsoring the ex-

General Lassiter's scathing denunciation

treme view advanced by ex-President Arturo Alessandri in a recent publication to the effect that the failure of the proposed plebiscite has consolidated and made final the alleged sovereignty of Chile over Tacna-Arica. Far-sighted Chilean statesmen are well aware that the utterances of General Pershing and General

Lassiter at Arica and the latter's statement on June 14 have, in a decisive manner, strengthened the juridical and moral case of Peru before the world and future generations. They would instead look for some honorable solution to the morally and legally unenviable position in which their country now stands.

III. An Eyewitness Describes the Reign of Terror in the Disputed Provinces

By MARION DEITRICK

Special Correspondent of *The Panama Times* and *The West Coast Leader*, American Newspapers Published at Panama, and Lima, Peru, Respectively

TO HAVE been in an automobile that was shot at and stoned by Chileans on one of the main streets of Arica and to have been advised by Señor Agustin Edwards, Chilean Delegate on the Tacna-Arica Plebiscite Commission, that it would be dangerous to go into the country outside Arica, are facts within my own personal experience that illustrate the terrorism that prevailed in the disputed provinces.

It was in July, 1925, just about the time that General Pershing passed through the Panama Canal aboard the U. S. S. Rochester, en route to Arica, that I was sent there as a newspaper correspondent, with the instructions to "Get the facts." At Lima, the Peruvian capital, I joined the Ucayali, the ship which had been chartered by the Government for the Peruvian Delegation, and proceeded at once to Arica. On Aug. 3 we dropped anchor opposite the little port of Arica, huddled away from the sea winds behind its great, Gibraltar-like "Morro," and flanked on the north by a green valley, a yellow desert, and long chains of barren, table-topped sand hills. Owing to the difficulty of securing living quarters in the town it was decided that the delegation should not land, and I was permitted to retain my own accommodations on shipboard.

More than 50 per cent. of the personnel of the Peruvian commission were exiles from the plebiscitary territory. Impromptu interviews with these men divided them into four groups: (1) the old men,

victims of what they termed the "Chileanizing campaign of 1911," forced from their homes either by general public hostility or by direct assault upon their commercial affairs, or both; (2) the children of these citizens, come of age and returning to claim their vote by the right of birth; (3) the men of intermediate years, expelled by the more pointed method adopted in a later "campaign," that is, by official notification verbally delivered, followed up in the event of protest by armed assistance to the gang-plank; and (4) the youths just over voting age who some three years before had fled north to escape service in the Chilean Army.

The experiences related by these expatriates were, in their respective classes, all very similar. That of Señor Artidoro Espejo, treasurer of the delegation, serves as an interesting illustration of both expulsion systems. He was visited at the bank of which he was manager by a Chilean General, who informed him that it was "not convenient to the authorities" that he longer remain in Tacna. On his refusing to leave, two companies of soldiers were stationed around the bank building, thus preventing the transaction of business. The board of directors decided that to save their business he had best obey. Forced to lose practically all he possessed, he departed for Lima with his family, where he found a new position. On Espejo's resignation from the Tacna bank, the Chilean authorities, nevertheless, ordered

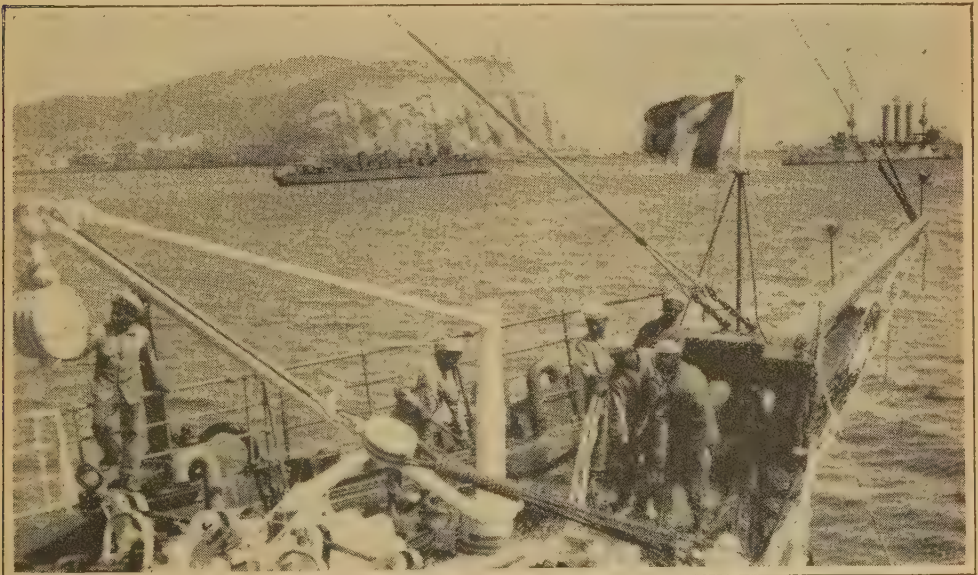
every account withdrawn, and when the absent owners returned from Europe they found their business ruined.

Members of the delegation who had ventured ashore brought strange tales back to the ship. "They run from us on the streets!" they told the groups that flocked to meet them on deck. "From us—their own *paisanos*! At sight of our delegation badges every Peruvian face freezes with terror and turns away from us!" Their accounts of the apparent intimidation in the port were confirmed by Miss Sarah Wambaugh, American plebiscite expert attached to the Peruvian delegation, who, appearing at the door of my cabin, declared that she could not believe that things like this could happen in these days. "I want you to know," she said, "that we were followed like criminals by Chileans whom the *nativos* [expatriated natives of the territory brought back by the delegation in official capacities] with us recognized as members of the secret police instrumental in the terrorization and deportation years ago. And on our way back to the dock we learned that the two Peruvian women with whom we had conversed for a moment, half an hour before, had been taken to jail."

In the course of a few days I saw the

corroboration of such stories on the streets of Tacna—and more than that. On my first visit to that town I accompanied a little group from the Ucayali who were going there to offer financial aid to the widow of Pedro Quina Castañón, an aged Peruvian writer, claimed by his countrymen to have been murdered by the Chilean police. The first impression one obtains on seeing Tacna is that it should have been christened "Toy-town," for its quaint adobe dwellings are so delightfully diminutive as to make the people on its cobbled streets seem almost out of proportion; and the pinks, yellows, pea-greens, blues and lavenders, jumbled together regardless of any color scheme, unite to make a rainbow out of every block.

We halted before a pale orange house with a blue entrance-way and green iron bars at its solitary window. As the door swung back for us, the all too sweet odor of many flowers smote us in the face like a gust of wind. An emaciated young girl with swollen eyes led us silently down a long dark corridor past a room where a group of black-clad old women were sitting around in a ring weeping into large white handkerchiefs. A boy with a tear-streaked face and one arm in a sling joined us, and



The Harbor of Arica, with the famous Morro in the background. The two ships are Chilean men-of-war. Photograph taken from the Ucayali, the ship of the Peruvian delegation

with his uninjured hand motioned us on. From the room at the end of the hall an indescribably thin little woman appeared, sobbing audibly. "*Pasen amigos,*" she said. And as we stepped before her across the threshold, and that all too sweet smell of flowers surged around us like a tangible thing, I realized that I was in the actual presence of death. We stood for a moment looking. Then we sat down in the shabby chairs that were the only other objects in the room. "Was he ill long?" asked one



Señora Maria de Rios (80 years old), twice expelled from Tacna for Peruvian sympathies. Thirteen members of her family were driven out

of my companions, breaking an awful silence. "For four months and a half," answered the thin little woman. "And what suffering! Day and night, constantly, the pain and the sleeplessness. The poor little one—the poor little one!"

The woman then told us how the Peruvians, bosom friends, had received their *notificaciones*, and (this was in the year 1925, when prospective deportees had long since ceased to protest) had agreed to meet on one last occasion upon their home soil for a farewell dinner. The Chilean police broke in upon them, charged them with

"Peruvian conspiracy," and on their denying the accusation, set upon them with clubs and knives. Quina Castañón alone received a bullet wound. Unable to struggle, they were dragged to the *policía* and left all night hung up by the heels to iron *barras*, head and shoulders upon the concrete floor of their cells. In the morning, weak and staggering from loss of blood, they were marched to the court house for trial and ordered to leave the province by the next southbound boat. Quina Castañón was unable to fulfill his sentence. He was transported to his little orange adobe cottage, where he died.

My published account of the occurrence as told to me drew an outraged disavowal from *El Pacifico*, the principal Chilean paper. "Don Pedro Quina Castañón," said that journal (I had not revealed my subject's name or even his correct initial), "died as a consequence of cirrhosis of the liver and chronic alcoholism." I went back to Tacna, visited the homes of the other members of the dinner party, Vaccaro, Palsa and García (whose hands were slashed between each finger to the palm centres and whose wife had stood on her balcony with her young sons and daughters and watched that staggering march to the court house) and from each lonely wife I got the same story, witnessing personally at the home of the Palsa family, the scene of the assault, the broken panes and bullet marks in the adobe walls. Then, quite by accident, I met an old woman who from the ranks of the spectators had seen the whole thing right from the Palsa house to the police station, where García's wife was thrown down the steps when she tried to reach her husband. "Quina Castañón," she declared, "died of what they did to him, the cowards, the shameless ones! They beat him until he could no longer stand, and then because he could not walk they beat him again. He was covered with blood from head to foot—his shirt-front gave the effect of a red bib!" Then, realizing that she had given me information, the old woman tearfully begged me not to print her name, or else, she was sure, they would kill her.

This plea against publicity met me many more times before my four months on the Ucaiali were at an end. Often I had to

sacrifice material so carefully gathered, because of clutching, imploring hands and eyes eloquent with fear. In every house I visited I found the people living under a reign of terror. Some would not speak at all, and many, even while whispering their information behind barred doors and curtained windows, begged me to go, telling me how I was making them "tremble" for fear that "those outside" would guess that I was from the Ucayali, and assuring me that after my departure, in any event, they would "suffer." I know of only one positive case where my own visit was responsible for a family's flight to the Ucayali in the rush of refugees that later flooded the vessel. But upon several occasions I was forced to abandon my fact-hunting expeditions, because of the over-zealous attentions of the Chilean secret police, a fact that certain members of the American delegation can confirm.

On one occasion when I wished to see what the valleys outside Arica had to say, my proposed investigation had little result because I was not even given the opportunity to get out of my car. Over the desert sand ruts and through the winding forest road of Azapa our car was chased back to Arica by two auto-loads of armed agents of the Chilean law, including Vaduli and Silva, two of the four referred to in General Lassiter's statement as "criminals."



Señora Gonzalez and her daughter. The Señora's sons were called to serve in the Chilean Army and were never seen again. Later she and her five daughters were expelled

As they left us on the outskirts of the port, they waved their revolvers and yelled at the Peruvians: "Next time come without women!" Miss Sarah Wambaugh, however, can testify to the fact that not even her feminine presence was a "guarantee" to Peruvian safety in the Valley of Azapa upon the later date of Nov. 6, 1925.

How dangerous were the possibilities of attempting to pursue my investigations was brought out when I discussed the matter with Agustin Edwards, the Chilean delegate. I told him I should like to travel through the valleys, visit the little mud farmhouses and talk with the people in the kitchens and in the fields, and stop along the roadside and talk to the old women on donkeys. "What would happen to me if I should start out some day on such an adventure?" I asked. Mr. Edwards thought a moment. "I do not know what would happen to you," he said at length. "You would not advise it, then?" I pursued. He shook his head slowly as he replied: "I cannot say I would—no." Thus there were good reasons for remaining in the populated districts when



The family of Estanislao Vicente, a Peruvian property owner, expelled from Tacna and now earning 70 cents a day in Arequipa

fact-hunting. And even those districts were not to be particularly relied upon, as proved by the incident of Nov. 13, 1925, when the car I was in was shot at and stoned on one of the main streets of Arica.

Señor Emiliano Bustos León, the Governor of Arica, about ten days before he was removed from office by General Pershing, admitted (in seeking to prove to me that Chile's triumph was certain because there were so few Peruvians in the provinces to vote against it) that I had visited *every* Peruvian house in his city. In view of this I believe I must be entitled to assert that every Peruvian house in Arica is manless. This much I *can* state, *without* authoritative backing: from every Peruvian house I entered, in both Arica and Tacna, every male of voting age had been expelled (or was expelled during the period of my stay on the Ucayali) and every youth of military age forced to flee north.

Here is a typical case of a system used in expelling the lower classes. I asked one bereft mother whether her son had received any warning. She replied, "No, they came in the middle of the night, with no warning at all, and got him out of bed and tore him from my arms and marched him to the dock, half-dressed, with the rest of them who like cattle were herded into the southbound ship." "Have many fled from service like your son?" I asked another mother. "Many—many," she replied. "But others, not having the money to leave, have remained and been compelled to serve. Many, rebelling, have disappeared and

been heard of no more. The Peruvian men of Tacna and Arica must either sign away their true citizenship, become Chilean soldiers, go into exile, or mysteriously drop out of existence."

On one occasion I asked one of these sorrowing women if she thought Peru would win. "If there is a just God," was the answer, "yes. But that just God must first take away these brutal Chilean *carabineros* and soldiers who patrol the streets, insulting, cowing and maltreating our people. What a false, hopeless thing will be this plebiscite if these Chilean bullies remain in authority! The few males of voting age who remain will not dare venture within a mile of the polls!" Another time I questioned a group of old women as to how it was known that those who had disappeared had been killed. "Because," they replied, almost in a chorus, "the blood-stained garments have been found." A few moments later a shriveled old market woman, pretending to sell me a palm leaf of native taffy, whispered: "My son went riding into the valley. His horse returned alone, with blood-spots on the saddle."

At the burial of Pedro Quina Castañón (the old Peruvian writer to whose death I have already referred) three hundred women, not an adult male among them, trooped behind the two-wheeled cart that carried the coffin through the cemetery. This may or may not be a significant fact in a land where, according to every custom and tradition, women do not attend funerals.

IV. American Official Account of the Anti-Peruvian Campaign

By WILLIAM LASSITER

Major General, United States Army; President of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscitary Commission

[Major General William Lassiter, President of the Plebiscitary Commission at the session of that body at Arica on June 14, moved that the plebiscite be abandoned as a means of settling the dispute between Peru and Chile in regard to the provinces of Tacna and Arica. In a speech announcing and explaining his decision, General Lassiter

maintained that conditions were unfavorable for the holding of a free and fair plebiscite as required by the award, and that there was no prospect of bettering these conditions. In view of this fact, continued General Lassiter, "I deem it to be clearly beyond the just powers of the commission to undertake consciously the holding of an unfair and make-believe plebi-

scite which cannot be expressive of the will of the people." The full text of that portion of General Lassiter's report describing the conditions which arose from the fact that the award left Chile in absolute control of the plebiscitary territory follows.]

My conclusion that the plebiscitary undertaking must be abandoned is based upon the fact, well established as I believe, that in respect of permitting Peruvian adherents to vote, and under the conditions in that regard which have existed since the commission came into existence, which now exist and will continue to exist, there is no reasonable approximation to such a plebiscitary situation as is essential to an expression of the will of the people.

THE CRITERION TO BE APPLIED BEFORE THE COMMISSION MAY REFUSE TO CONTINUE ITS PLEBISCITARY ACTIVITIES.

The fact that the adherents of the nation which controls the plebiscitary territory are assured of an adequate opportunity of casting their votes in favor of Chile need not be dilated upon. The only question is and has been as to the adequacy of the opportunity of casting votes for Peru.

We must ask ourselves this question: Is it known now with the required degree of assurance that so great a number or proportion of Peruvian sympathizers among the plebiscitary electorate have been or will be deterred from registering and voting as to impair the result?

In giving to this question an affirmative answer I am impelled to say that in view of the gravity of the issue I could scarcely bring myself to regard any degree of assurance as meeting the demands of the situation if by the putting forth of further effort and the exercise of greater patience a better and more assured state of knowledge and understanding could be obtained. Hence, in spite of my settled and positive conviction of the impossibility from the point of view of the Commission of holding a fair plebiscite, I should nevertheless favor holding the best plebiscite within our power if I could see any prospect of our gaining valuable information that would enable the above vital question to be answered with a greater degree of assurance. There is, however, no such prospect, for after an election or attempted election we should have no better means than we have now of counting or estimating the number or proportion of absent Peruvian sympathizers whose absence was due to the want of proper protection and proper facilities and in general to unsuitable plebiscitary conditions.

THE EVIDENCE ESTABLISHING FATALLY BAD PLEBISCITARY CONDITIONS.

The two essential elements of the problem which now confronts the Commission are (1) the question whether it is the plan and purpose of the Chilean Government to secure to Peruvian sympathizers as well as to Chilean sympathizers an opportunity to register and vote in security and tranquillity, and (2) the question of the deterring effect produced upon the minds of Peruvian sympathizers by improper acts and occurrences in Tacna-Arica. The evidential circumstances by which the Commission seems to me to be forced to the conclusion that Peruvian sympathizers have not had and will not have a just opportunity to register and vote are of two classes.

(1) Acts and occurrences of a minatory nature done or happening by the contrivance, encouragement, or sanction of Chilean authorities and calculated to impart to Peruvian sympathizers the warning or information that they will not be permitted to register and vote or that an attempt on their part to do so will be penalized by the authorities.

(2) Acts and occurrences which serve to

show the lawless hostility to Peruvian sympathizers of Chilean sympathizers and Chilean organizations, and to show the failure of the Chilean authorities to afford due protection against injuries and dangers suffered or encountered by Peruvian sympathizers in consequence of such hostility.

The effect of such evidential acts and occurrences upon the minds and conduct of Peruvian sympathizers and the fact of their being actually deterred from exercising the plebiscitary franchise by the state or conditions, the existence of which is established by these acts and occurrences, need not be shown by extraneous evidence. It follows as a matter of course from what we know of human nature.

It would be impossible within the scope of a statement of moderate length to describe or even list the very numerous incidents which the labors of the Commission and of the staff of the President thereof have sufficed to disclose. The most that I can do is to tell something of these incidents in a general way and to sketch very briefly a small number of typical incidents.

In doing so I shall make no effort to separate incidents that tend to show a purpose on the part of the Chilean authorities to resort to affirmative measures preventing or deterring Peruvians from registering and voting from incidents that tend to show lack of the required protection of Peruvians, for the probative value of both classes of incidents will be conceded.

INDICATIONS OF THE EXISTENCE OF A STATE OF TERRORISM.

(I) In inviting attention to a few of the more typical of the long list of incidents that have demonstrated so amply the existence in the plebiscitary territory of such a state of terrorism as renders impracticable the holding of a free and fair plebiscite the fact is not ignored that electoral contests are frequently characterized by disturbances of public order. I desire to emphasize here that, flagrant as have been the outrages to which Peruvian electors and sympathizers have been subjected, and pitiful as have been the sufferings of the helpless victims, it is not these outrages themselves that in my opinion have constituted the most serious phase of the long continued course of violence, oppression, persecution and discrimination that has marked the past year in this territory. The vital factor in the situation, the one above all others upon which must be based the judgment to be rendered by the Commission, has been the attitude of the Chilean authorities as shown conclusively by their continued failure to take adequate action to secure to Peruvians the due and equal protection of the law or a reasonably free and equal opportunity for the exercise of plebiscitary rights. The attitude thus outlined may be inferred from a brief statement of a few outstanding incidents.

(II) Those incidents selected for special mention include, first, three groups of open and public outrages that have at intervals of about two months marked the streets of Tacna during the period from January to June of the present year. Second, a somewhat similar group of outrages occurring in the streets of Arica in the month of May, and, third, a group of outrages of recent months in the town of Putre. It will be seen that the incidents here touched upon in detail cover in the matter of time a period extending from January of the present year up to and into the present month of June; that they cover in the matter of territorial distribution the capital city of the Province of Tacna, the principal city of the Department of Arica, and an isolated country town, and that they include in the matter of incidents varied forms of outrage of which Peruvians have been the helpless victims. While the local Chilean officials, executive and judicial, civil and military, did not actually countenance the outrages, they have

been at least negligent in taking reasonably adequate measures to anticipate or suppress unjustified aggressions and to apprehend or punish the guilty parties.

(III) TACNA RIOT ON THE MORNING OF JAN. 6, 1926.

On the morning of Jan. 6, 1926, there arrived at Tacna by train from Arica the first considerable contingent of Peruvians, presumably qualified electors, attempting to return to that city to take part in the plebiscite. The following account, based upon the personal testimony of members of the staff of the President of the Plebiscitary Commission who were present as eyewitnesses, outlines the happenings of that morning. The expected arrival of the Peruvians was announced in an article appearing in the Tacna morning paper circulated hours before the train's arrival. The police measures taken and the crowd gathered in advance at the station establish beyond question that both the Chilean authorities and public of Tacna had ample notice of the arrival of the Peruvians. The Peruvians upon their arrival in Tacna conducted themselves in an orderly and proper manner, giving no provocation whatever to the crowd assembled at and near the railroad station. The Peruvians were met upon their arrival at Tacna by a hostile Chilean crowd of about 500 people assembled in and near the station. This crowd was composed in the main of very rough elements; a large part of the crowd wore Chilean colors. The crowd greeted the arrival of the Peruvians with cheers for Chile and threatening and insulting shouts for the Peruvians. The Peruvians made no reply to the shouts of the crowd. As the Peruvians detoured the crowd closed in on them and attacked them with fists, kicks and sticks. Police were present for the ostensible purpose of protecting the Peruvians. They utterly failed to perform that duty even on the station platform, and within the station building there followed at the exit from the station and in the public streets of Tacna a prolonged brutal and public mobbing of the Peruvians, who were endeavoring to proceed partly in autos and partly on foot toward the centre of the city. This mobbing was carried on in the immediate presence of at least twenty-five policemen and of a hostile, yelling crowd. Individual Peruvians were one after another separated from their group by organized parties, each composed of about six to ten Chileans, and under the very eyes of the police beaten to the ground, kicked, clubbed, robbed and generally outrageously maltreated. The Peruvians continued subject to stoning, insults, threats and similar aggressions, throughout their slow progress from the station to a house on Calle Carreras near Calle San Martin, where most of them took refuge. The Peruvians could make no effective defense against their assailants. They were mobbed without provocation and almost without resistance. Many Peruvians were injured, some seriously. The pretense at police protection was inefficient, half-hearted and utterly ineffective, so much so as to suggest that most of the police if not actually in collusion with the assailants were in sympathy with them and had no intention of opposing any real resistance to their attacks or of affording any real protection to the Peruvians. Eye-witnesses of the entire affair from the station exit to the house and Calle Carreras did not see an arrest made or a police weapon used against an assailant. Not only did the responsible authorities in Tacna fail to employ the military forces to extend the protection that the police failed so signally to provide, but officers and men in Chilean military uniform were present in the hostile crowd and gave open indication of their sympathy with the assaults. The attacks on the Peruvians seem to have been premeditated and deliberately planned in advance.

As additional evidence of the attitude of the Chilean authorities of Tacna it may be men-

tioned that on the evening of the same day in the same city of Tacna and within a few hundred yards of the same point two prominent members of the Peruvian plebiscitary delegation and the naval officer in command of the Peruvian transport Rimac were set upon by a mob and subjected to a prolonged and brutal beating without interference by the police.

(IV) TACNA RIOT OF MARCH 5, 1926.

On March 5 the first attempt was made to hold something approaching a public parade of Peruvians in the plebiscitary territory. The place selected was the City of Tacna, where were the offices of the highest local civil and military authorities charged with the preservation of law and order in Tacna-Arica, where there were present an ample military garrison, the provincial headquarters of the carabineer forces, and the city police, and where the local authorities as a result of their experience of Jan. 6 had been put clearly on notice suggesting adequate anticipatory measures to prevent disturbances of public order.

The Peruvian parade of March 5, as started and conducted prior to interference therewith by a hostile Chilean crowd, constituted a legitimate plebiscitary activity under the provisions of Article 10 of the registration and election regulations. The parade was witnessed by various members of the staff of the President of the Plebiscitary Commission.

The disturbance of public order that marked the parade, were initiated by the Chileans who were the aggressors throughout, were in part at least premeditated and deliberate and were in so far as concerns the use of physical violence in any form not participated in by the Peruvians.

The Peruvians in the parade, including personnel of the registration and election boards and other Peruvian personnel directly connected with official plebiscitary activities, were subjected to assaults, humiliation and insult, rocks and other missiles were thrown at them. Some were cut and otherwise maltreated, many were injured, certainly more than twenty, though none apparently very seriously.

Not a single instance was noted by any of the numerous members of the American delegation who witnessed the affair in which a Chilean was attacked or injured by a Peruvian during the parade.

The police and administrative authorities had ample advance notice, actual and constructive, of the intended Peruvian parade and of the necessity for appropriate measures to insure protection to the Peruvians. There were ample military forces available at Tacna in case the local police were regarded by the local authorities as inadequate for the purpose.

The Tacna police forces actually employed for the ostensible purpose of maintaining law and order and protecting the Peruvian parade took certain advance measures, which permitted the parade to form and start without molestation. They accompanied the parade and so acted as to give an outward appearance of facilitating the progress of the parade and of extending protection, but they signally refrained in general from employing the forceful measures obviously required to accomplish effectively their ostensible purpose and failed lamentably, in fact, to afford the protection to which the Peruvians were entitled. Cases were observed in which members of the police force looked on with apparent indifference, while flagrant aggressions against the Peruvians were being committed in their presence and under their immediate observation.

No apparent use was made of the Chilean military forces for the purpose of extending protection to the Peruvian parade. On the contrary officers and men of those forces in uniform mingled with the crowd that was obstructing the parade and attacking the Peruvians and gave open evidence of sympathy with the lawless action of the crowd. The averting on this occasion of a more bloody

riot with every probability of many fatal casualties appears to have been due, not to any adequate action taken by the police or by any other Chilean authorities in Tacna, but to the simple fact that the Peruvians refrained from attempting to defend themselves actively and from opposing violence with similar violence.

The full significance of this incident is all the more apparent when the happenings of March 5 are contrasted with those of a similar Chilean political demonstration held in the same city of Tacna two days later and attended by no disorder or interruption of any kind. From the contrast presented by these two demonstrations held in the same city about the same date in the presence of the same police force and under the control and supervision of the same Chilean authorities, suggestive deductions may be drawn as to the real attitude of those Chilean authorities and as to the degree of electoral opportunity that has in fact existed in the plebiscitary territory as regards Chileans and Peruvians respectively.

(V) OUTRAGES AGAINST PERUVIANS IN AND NEAR PUTRE.

During the month of March of the present year there were filed with the President of the Plebiscitary Commission a number of complaints relative to events alleged to have taken place in and near the town of Putre in the Department of Arica. A duly appointed examiner of the Plebiscitary Commission was accordingly designated to examine into the facts and after taking testimony at Arica on April 3, 4 and 5, proceeded to Putre where hearings were held on April 7-11, inclusive. The examiner's investigation was undertaken with the knowledge and cooperation of the Chilean authorities, and both Chilean and Peruvian witnesses were examined. About four hundred pages of testimony were taken and a report with conclusions was prepared by the examiner under date of May 1, 1926, and later submitted through the committee to hear and investigate complaints to the commission. The testimony, the report, and the conclusions are replete with details of incidents with names, dates, places, &c. It will suffice here to list the subheadings included under the conclusions of the report which present a brief abstract of the outrages established by the evidence together with the text under the last two of those subheadings.

1. Flagrant interference with the transit of returning Peruvian electors by carbineers.
2. Brutal beating of returning Peruvian electors, members of their families, and Peruvian sympathizers by carbineers and Chilean propagandists.
3. Prevention of any form of legitimate Peruvian propaganda by espionage and intimidation carried to such an extent that the people of Putre do not dare to speak to returning Peruvian electors or to the Peruvian personnel of the Registration and Election Board.
4. Forbidding Peruvians to fly the Peruvian flag.
5. Deprivation of returning Peruvian electors of their property.
6. Failure on the part of the local authorities to punish the perpetrators of any of these offenses.

Despite the fact that the evidence adduced before the examiner shows the commission of grave offenses in Putre against Peruvian electors, members of their families and Peruvian sympathizers, the testimony of Lieutenant Hernando Noso Tapia, Commander of the Putre squadron of carbineers, shows that only two men had been confined in the cuartel during the two months preceding the visit of the examiner to Putre. These two men, Jose Benedicto Mazuelos and Ernesto Espejo, were not in confinement under sentence, but appeared to have been detained briefly pending an investigation and then released, although the evidence before the examiner points unmistakably to their guilt of the offenses charged against them.

7. Participation of the Chilean authorities in Putre in acts of terrorism and intimidation.

The arrest and beating of Mollo and his companions was premeditated and planned. Lieutenant Alberto Carlos Toro Coronel, second in command of the Putre squadron of carbineers, participated in the execution of the plan to arrest, beat and intimidate these men. It would be extremely difficult to avoid the conclusion that these unlawful acts took place with the knowledge and consent of Lieutenant Hernando Noso Tapia, commander of the Putre squadron of carbineers, and Señor Luis Luco Cruchaga, Chilean member of the Putre Registration and Election Board, or in pursuance to a plan to which they were parties. Señor Luco was implicated in the intimidation of Pedro Huanca Bernanco Villa Nouva and Maria Isabel Vasquez de Aquino and both Señor Luco and Lieutenant Donoso in the intimidation of Bernardo Mamani Gutierrez. That Señor Luco is at the bottom of the system of espionage and intimidation in Putre is the natural inference to be drawn from the mass of testimony taken by the examiner. Neither Señor Filiberto Ochoa, the judge of the subdelegation of Putre, nor Señor Jorge Aliago Rojas, subdelegate of Putre, has taken any steps to correct the situation in Putre. Señor Aliago is himself implicated in the intimidation of Lorenzo Humire Choque.

(VI) OUTRAGES IN THE CITY OF ARICA ON MAY 14, 1926

Without going back over a month in point of time let us now see what have been the conditions in the City of Arica, the place where the Plebiscitary Commission holds its sessions, and where the Governor of Arica resides and has his offices.

On the night of May 14, 1926, the streets of the City of Arica were the scene of a series of attacks upon Peruvians. The facts were examined into by an examiner of the Plebiscitary Commission in hearings conducted from May 16 to 25 inclusive. The stenographic record of testimony of the witnesses, including Chileans and Peruvians, comprises 271 pages. The examiner's report was completed under date of May 29 and has been submitted through the committee to hear and investigate complaints of the commission.

The following extract from the conclusions and findings in that case, are significant:

In no instance does the evidence show that the police arrived upon the scene of a disorder before the assailants had effected their purpose and in no case did more than two policemen present themselves upon the scene of an incident.

No attempt was made to arrest any of the assailants nor to obtain the names of any bystanders as witnesses. Mr. Valderrama and Mr. Martorella claim that they pointed out to Policemen Silva and Fiorro certain men who had stoned Celestino Ibarra Leon and asked that they be arrested, but that the policemen replied that these men were workmen and had not done anything. That neither of the two policemen who arrived on the scene of this incident should have made any attempt to identify and arrest any of the assailants or at least to obtain the names of witnesses is difficult to understand.

FINDINGS

The examiner finds:

1. That on the evening of Friday, May 14, a series of attacks were made upon Peruvians in the streets of Arica by an organized group of ruffians which was permitted to operate from 6:30 to midnight without interference by the authorities.
2. That at least fourteen Peruvians, seven of whom are members of the Peruvian delegation and the other seven Peruvian electors, were wounded, most of them severely, by members of this group of ruffians.
3. That about 8:30 P. M. the Police Department was informed in several ways concern-

ing the first two attacks made upon Peruvians and about 9:45 the Chief of Police of Arica had personal knowledge of further serious attacks made upon Peruvians subsequent to 8:30.

4. That notwithstanding this notice and the serious state of affairs disclosed thereby the police authorities remained utterly indifferent to the situation and completely failed to take appropriate measures to deal with it.

5. That about 10:30 and 11:45 P. M., that is subsequent to the notice referred to in the preceding finding, two major attacks upon Peruvians took place on the principal street of Arica in the course of which six members of the Peruvian delegation were severely injured.

The report in the above case has since its submission to the Plebiscitary Commission been examined and commented upon by the Judge of the Chilean Special Court. The Judge states that the detailed exposition of the events made by the examiner appears to be clothed with truth and that the observations of the examiner bearing upon these incidents are, in the opinion of the Court, logical and correct. Concerning the conclusions of the examiner the Judge states: It is the opinion of this Court that these conclusions are just and the Court merely wishes to point out in the elaboration of its own view that what is affirmed with reference to the conduct of the police can be extenuated only by lack of sufficient personnel. It is difficult to see how the conduct of the police can be excused on the ground that there was a lack of sufficient personnel, as is pointed out by the examiner in his report. The Chief of Police of Arica himself testified during the course of the hearing that there were twenty-seven vacancies in the Arica police force on the night of May 14 and that these vacancies had existed since about May 1. (VII) OUTRAGES AT TACNA IN MAY AND JUNE, 1926

In order to bring this record of outrages down to the present there only remains to be outlined briefly a series of assaults upon the persons and property of Peruvians occurring in the capital City of Tacna during the latter part of May and early part of June.

An examiner of the Plebiscitary Commission returned on June 12 from Tacna after having investigated over forty cases involving attacks against the persons and property of Peruvians. Thirty-five of those attacks occurred between May 21 and May 29, thus presenting an approximate average of four assaults daily during a period of nine days.

On May 21 a Peruvian official automobile was stoned near Pocollay.

On May 22 six Peruvians were assaulted, the house of a member of the Peruvian delegation was stoned, and a so-called cowboy fired a carbine from a regularly maintained retén post at a Peruvian car in which a member of the American delegation was riding.

On May 23 a building housing Peruvian electors was stoned and shot at.

On May 24 three Peruvian houses were stoned and five Peruvians assaulted, two of them sustaining serious injuries.

On May 25 three Peruvian houses were stoned.

On May 27 six Peruvian houses and a Peruvian official car, in which a member of the American delegation was riding, were stoned.

On May 27 eight Peruvian houses, including that occupied by the Peruvian Juridical Commission, were stoned and in several cases shot at, and two Peruvians, one a member of the Peruvian delegation, were assaulted.

On May 28 and 29 two Peruvian houses were stoned and on May 29 Manuel Espinoza Cuellar, a Peruvian elector, was fatally injured.

Further serious attacks have taken place in June.

Most of these attacks were made at night. A large number, however, occurred in broad daylight; some took place in the very presence of the police. On June 3 a Peruvian elector, a lieutenant in the Peruvian army, on his way home from a building occupied by members

of the American delegation in Tacna, where he had testified concerning a previous assault made upon him, was attacked for the second time and beaten by a group of four or five Chileans. The assault took place in the presence of two policemen, who remained utterly indifferent to the situation. About noon on June 9 a vendor of *La Voz del Sur* was attacked on the principal business street of Tacna and his papers seized. A few minutes later he was stabbed in front of the building of *El Pacifico* within twenty-five feet of a policeman. The policeman first took hold of the assailant, then told him to run away, and only after Peruvian bystanders called upon him to perform his duty and arrest the culprit did he make an ineffective effort to capture him. Only after the victim had reported the incident to the examiner did the Chilean authorities take active steps in the matter.

An inspection of houses stoned and shot at discloses bullet holes in the walls, broken windows, broken doors and in several cases wrecked furniture and effects inside the premises. In one case twenty-eight rocks were counted in a parlor the furniture of which was completely wrecked.

An analysis of the evidence compels the conclusion that this series of attacks upon the persons and property of Peruvians has been organized and executed by the so-called cowboys, who, according to the testimony of Filomeno Cerda, President of the Sociedad de Tacna y Arica, of which they form a part, are maintained and financed by the Chilean Government. The evidence clearly shows that the gangs of ruffians perpetrating these attacks have been permitted to operate without the slightest interference on the part of the police. Indeed, the Chief of Police testifies that during this period of lawlessness and disorder in Tacna conditions were entirely peaceful and tranquil aside from one insignificant incident. Not a single police reserve was called out; not a single extra policeman added to any of the shifts during a period when the utmost rigor should have been exercised.

The victims of the outrages referred to above have in several cases identified among their assailants, in addition to cowboys and natives, officers and soldiers of the Chilean Army. In several cases the notorious Encinas brothers, one of whom is in charge of the activities of the cowboys and the other an employee in the local court of Tacna, were identified among the assailants.

The testimony of over fifty Peruvian witnesses was taken by the examiner in connection with the above outrages. When the examination of Chilean witnesses was commenced the Intendente of the Province refused to permit police officers who had been regularly subpoenaed by the Judge of the Special Court created by Chilean decree law No. 451 to appear before the examiner to testify. In order to give the Chilean authorities and the accused Chilean assailants a further opportunity to testify concerning these incidents a second request was made in proper form upon the Judge of the Special Court for the compulsory attendance of certain witnesses who had previously been subpoenaed but who had failed to respond to the subpoena and also for the attendance of additional Chilean witnesses, but the authorities again interfered with the execution of the process of the Judge of the Chilean Special Court. In consequence the evidence on the Chilean side is limited to such testimony as was given by the Chief of Police and the President of the Sociedad de Tacna y Arica before the attendance of Chilean witnesses was interfered with by the Chilean administrative authorities.

This basic attitude on the part of the authorities has prevented the examiner from making a complete investigation of the attack on Manuel Espinoza Cuellar, a Peruvian who was fatally wounded on May 29. Such evidence, however, as the examiner has been able to obtain in this case indicated that this man

was fatally beaten by a group of six Chileans. Viewed as a whole the record discloses not only a series of unprovoked attacks upon persons and property but what is more serious a resulting state of terrorism and intimidation maintained through an organization financed by the Chilean Government.

VIII. The recent series of outrages against Peruvians in Tacna having been brought by the President of the commission to the attention of his Excellency the Chilean member the latter has apparently seriously entertained and has transmitted in reply expressed opinions of Chilean officials, including the Intendente of Tacna, to the substantial effect that the outrages in question were deliberately manufactured, or instigated, or committed, by Peruvians for the purpose of supporting the Peruvian contention that a fair plebiscite is impracticable in the plebiscitary territory under present conditions. I must confess that I am constrained to believe that the mere advancement of such a defense by Chilean officials is an admission of the weakness of the Chilean case. To claim that Peruvians are destroying Peruvian property, assaulting and beating Peruvian electors and sympathizers, and even committing murder such as appears to have caused the recent death in Tacna of the Peruvian Espinoza Cueller and that all of this is being done for purposes of Peruvian propaganda is to test the credulity of the most credulous.

(IX) INTIMIDATION AND MALTREATMENT OF PERUVIANS BY NATIVOS AND COWBOYS

No adequate conception of the organized intimidation and maltreatment of Peruvians in Tacna and Arica can be had without taking note of the activities of two organizations which, although nominally of private character, are evidently encouraged if not actually supported by the Chilean Government, namely, the Society of the Sons of Tacna and Arica, the headquarters of which are in Arica, and the Society of Tacna and Arica, the headquarters of which are Tacna. It is understood that the head of the Arica organization is Alvaro Oliva and that the head of the Tacna organization is Filomeno Cerda. It is further understood that both organizations are under the control of Luis Barcelo, ex-intendente of the Province of Tacna. There are alleged to be about 1,300 members in the Tacna organization. No information is available as to the number of members in the Arica organization.

While the two societies mentioned, the members of which are commonly known as *nativos*, are ostensibly intended for propaganda purposes, it appears from the testimony of many persons from various sections of Tacna and Arica, including witnesses before the special tribunal and before the committee to hear and investigate complaints and examiners of the Plebiscitary Commission, that the *nativos* have been the principal instruments of the widespread and organized abuse and terrorization of Peruvians which have been carried on for many months. According to testimony which has come from so many different sources that it is absolutely convincing, the *nativos* have been the leaders in assaults upon Peruvians sometimes with firearms, in invasions and searches of their homes and seizure of their papers and other property, in commands to take part in Chilean demonstrations with threats of dire punishment in case of refusal, and in various other forms of persecution.

In the Department of Tacna the Society of Tacna and Arica has a uniformed armed and mounted branch called the propaganda section, the members of which, between 100 and 200 in number, are commonly known as cowboys. They wear uniforms consisting of broad-brimmed felt hat, olive drab shirt, khaki trousers, leather shoes and leggings and broad black sash. At night they wear also the black poncho. The officers wear a green brassard with gold markings on the left arm. The cowboys openly carry heavy leather riding crops

or clubs and are also furnished with firearms. They are stationed in retens situated in the City of Tacna and its vicinity, Parra, Pocolay, Piedra Blanca, Cerro Blanco, Pachia and Calientes. Their reputed immediate chief is Luis Encinas. They are mounted on handsome and well-kept horses which the evidence indicates to have been furnished from army sources. The officers receive from 1,000 to 1,200 pesos per month and the privates about 400 pesos per month, and it is understood from the testimony of one of their officers that they are paid from Government funds. The evidence further indicates that their rations are furnished by the Government of Chile. These men appear to be under a regular discipline, have a military bearing, and to all intents and purposes form a part of the armed forces of Chile. The members of this organization have testified that they assist in keeping order and in preventing persons from using certain streets and roads.

The testimony of numerous witnesses, however, shows that they have been the leaders in causing disorder in assaults upon Peruvians. On several occasions Americans attached to the Plebiscitary Commission have observed them in the streets of Tacna late at night in groups wearing black masks. It is a remarkable fact which hardly needs comment that the most prominent propaganda organization in Tacna should be of a distinctly military character and that its members should prowl through the streets at night wearing black masks. Propaganda is supposed to involve peaceful persuasion and not terrorization.

(X) EXPULSION OF PERUVIANS FROM THE PLEBISCITARY TERRITORY

Shortly after the organization of the Commission evidence began to accumulate which finally established beyond all doubt that a studied program of unlawful expulsion of Peruvians rightfully living in the plebiscitary territory had long been carried on and was still being carried on. The term expulsion as here employed is intended to cover any form of deportation caused or induced by unlawful coercion.

In the first instance this evidence came to the American delegation in the form of complaints from the relatives, the friends and the acquaintances of men who had been unlawfully expelled. Often the complaint of the expulsion of a particular individual came from several different and independent sources, thus corroborating the complaint. Informal investigation served to corroborate others before the end of 1925. The accumulated evidence indicated that the number of unlawful expulsions ran well into the hundreds.

But the evidence of unlawful expulsion of Peruvians does not consist alone in complaints of the relatives, friends and acquaintances of the men unlawfully expelled. The general questions raised by these complaints led to investigations by agencies of the Commission. In one such investigation the committee to hear and investigate complaints found, and its report to that effect was approved by the Commission, that in March of 1926, after the publication of the Award, the Chilean police arrested and took from their homes in the Azapa Valley in the night time a number of Peruvians, imprisoned them and forwarded them to Arica for deportation, from which point they were in fact deported to Iquique. The Committee also found, and the finding was approved by the Commission, that the expulsions from the Azapa Valley effected in March of 1925 were designed to decrease the number of Peruvian voters in the valley and that expulsions and established instances of the failure on the part of authorities to accord to men of known Peruvian sentiments living in the Azapa Valley the protection of the law had served to place men of Peruvian sentiments remaining in that valley in such fear of consequences as to preclude the free ex-

pression of their views touching issues to be determined by the plebiscite.

Among the many instances of involuntary departure brought about pursuant to the unlawful policy and program mentioned above the following may be mentioned: On March 18, 1925, shortly after the publication of the Award, more than twenty Peruvians were deported from Arica to Iquique on the Sanyesen and on the following day eight Peruvians left Arica involuntarily for Iquique on the launch Nilda. These deportations and involuntary departures were carried into effect by the police. On August 2, 1925, the day General Pershing arrived in Arica, five or more Peruvians left Arica involuntarily for Valparaiso on the S. S. Ebro. On January 3, 1926, and again on January 24, 1926, three days after my arrival in Arica, a Peruvian was deported by Alvaro Oliva, President of the Sons of Tacna and Arica, acting in cooperation with members of the police of Arica.

The evidence formally heard by a committee or by examiners, as well as evidence informally obtained, makes it clear that in many cases the expulsions were effected by order of, or actually executed by, Chilean police or other authorities. It is safe to conclude that the long-continued campaign of expulsions could only have been carried on with the knowledge and consent and approval of the responsible Chilean authorities.

The whole body of available evidence on the subject of unlawful expulsions leads unavoidably to the conclusion that, since the publication of the Award and for some time prior thereto, there has been in effect in Tacna and Arica a deliberate policy and plan not only to bring about by the enforced departure of persons of Peruvian sentiments a reduction of the Peruvian vote, but also to place Peruvians who remain in a state of fear wholly incompatible with a free expression of opinion on plebiscitary issues.

(XI) THE EVIDENT FAILURE OF THE COURTS TO ADMINISTER IMPARTIAL JUSTICE FOR MANY MONTHS

Complaint after complaint of assaults and other outrages upon Peruvians was brought to the attention of the ordinary courts in the plebiscitary territory. Nothing adequate was done by these courts to vindicate the rights of injured Peruvians or to punish Chileans who invaded those rights. Therefore as the plebiscitary proceedings were not aided by the action of the ordinary courts, recourse was had, it must be stated at the request of His Excellency the Chilean member of the Commission, to the Chilean Special Court established pursuant to Chilean decree law No. 451 of May 14, 1925, which was vested with power to take cognizance of offenses relating to the plebiscite. The results obtained from the establishment and functioning of this court have proved disappointing and unsatisfactory. Whatever the source or nature of the factors that may have regulated its procedure or determined its decision the essential fact remains that the court has not proven an effective agency for insuring to Peruvians the due protection of the law nor for imposing merited punishment upon guilty Chileans.

XII. Summing up, the outrages outlined above are merely illustrative of conditions that have marked a much longer period than that covered by them and that have existed in varying form but with similar purposes and results throughout the plebiscitary territory.

A reference to the records of the Commission and of the American delegation develops the fact that without going further back than January of the present year there are to be found in the files many hundreds of reports and complaints of outrages against Peruvians open and varied in character and widespread in point of time and place. It has been impossible with the personnel available fully to investigate all of those cases, but the number and variety of reports based upon the personal observation of the members of the staff, of the

President of the Commission and the evidence adduced in the cases that have been subjected to detailed investigation, can leave no doubt in the mind of any impartial examiner into the facts that there have existed and still exist in the plebiscitary territory conditions utterly incompatible with the exercise by Peruvians of those legitimate plebiscitary activities essential to a free and fair expression of the will of the qualified electorate under the Award.

The inescapable conclusions must be arrived at that the Peruvian electorate has been physically reduced below its proper figure by such measures as forcible deportations, departures induced by violence or threats, unexplained disappearances, discriminatory military conscription, and even assassination that Peruvians who have been driven or frightened out of the plebiscitary territory have not been given by the Chilean authorities due opportunities or facilities to return to register and vote. That there has been a systematic widespread and effective terrorization of Peruvians brought about through violence of persons and property through threats, oppression and persecution; that Peruvians have been coerced into promising to vote for Chile, into promising to remain neutral in the plebiscite, into registering fraudulently on dates supplied from Chilean sources, and have been subjected to other general and varied forms of interference with their electoral rights; that Peruvians have been denied the due and equal protection of the laws applicable to the plebiscitary territory; that Peruvians have been subject generally to unlawful restrictions, molestations, discriminations and other forms of interference with their plebiscitary rights; that the Peruvian official of the plebiscitary personnel had been impeded and even subjected to assaults in the effort to discharge necessary or appropriate plebiscitary duties; that there have been general and deliberate misrepresentation and suppression of the real facts by the local Chilean authorities and by the local Chilean press; and that the conditions above outlined have been brought about not only with the knowledge and implied approval of the Chilean authorities, but in many cases with their connivance, as evidenced by failure to restrain the criminal activities of certain so-called patriotic or political organizations whose operations have been accompanied by unmistakable evidence of official support and approval.

It is hardly necessary for me to reiterate the deep regret which I feel in being obliged to conclude that the plebiscitary proceedings which were conceived with such high hope and aspiration, begun with such zeal and energy, and carried on with such care and labor through many months must now be abandoned. Such failure in a great undertaking cannot but be regarded with sorrow by all who were engaged in it, more especially when the end to be accomplished was nothing less than the just settlement of a serious and long-pending controversy between two great nations and the preservation of peace on this continent. Moreover, the great principle of arbitration is involved. The hopes of mankind are fastened upon arbitration as the means, perhaps the only means, now available for settling disputes between nations and preventing the desolation of war. But even these considerations could not justify me in closing my eyes to the truth or in deliberately sanctioning a proceeding which I am convinced by the force of indisputable evidence would have been not only in conflict with the Award of the Arbitrator but contrary to the agreements for the plebiscite and violative of the rights of one of the nations concerned. Arbitration was never intended as a cloak for such a wrong.

Notwithstanding the failure of this great effort, let us hope that some means may yet be found for settling in a peaceful and just way the controversy over Tacna and Arica which has for so many years troubled the relations between Chile and Peru.

Harnessing the Colorado River

By NORMAN C. McLOUD

A Writer on Scientific and Technical Subjects

TRANSFORMATION of a thousand miles of landscape is one of the fascinating pictures presented by a Government project for controlling the Colorado River and subduing the capricious temperament for which the stream is notorious. A glimpse of the amazing features of the plan brings a vision of a region revolutionized by applied engineering on a scale of daring hitherto unapproached. The vision places lakes where none exist—2,000 square miles of them in the heart of a rugged and forbidding land. It shows these lakes as man-made reservoirs accumulating the waters of the Colorado and robbing that stream of its reputation of being the most temperamental and defiant river in the United States. These reservoirs will eliminate devastating floods; irrigate millions of acres now sterile and unproductive, and generate electrical energy reckoned in millions of horsepower.

The vision goes further and blends the esthetic with features that are intensely practical. It offers new sightseeing possibilities for some of the scenic wonders of the alluring West. The chief beneficiary in this respect will be the Grand Canyon of Arizona, that mighty breach in the face of nature which stirs the admiration of the world. Today a chasm of death-dealing rapids; tomorrow a tranquil scene of motor boating and comfortable travel for the everyday tourist; this is the picture promised by engineering skill for a channel but three times successfully navigated.

The project calls for a series of thirteen huge dams controlling the waters of the Colorado for practically the entire distance between Green River, Utah, and the eastern boundary of California, thus creating thirteen lakes of an aggregate length of almost a thousand miles. In profile the great dams form a giant staircase, down which the river will step in its journey to the Gulf of California. Gradual descent and whirling rapids will be eliminated. In the 3,682-foot drop there will be less

than 100 feet distributed among the small fragments of river left unaffected by the artificial obstructions. The dams will represent, in aggregate height, 3,588 feet of the total fall which occurs along the entire course. The lake-reservoirs will extend from dam to dam with little or no interruption. To accomplish this transformation Government engineers have mapped a program of construction of startling magnitude. Most spectacular, perhaps, is the chain of dams within the Grand Canyon. This scenic stretch of 250 miles will hold eight dams caring for the 2,500-foot drop. The building of these obstructions will create smooth-surface lakes, replacing the deadly rapids now filling the channel. In the 2,500-foot descent the dams will have a combined height of 2,400 feet.

The largest dam of the Grand Canyon region, and the highest in the entire project, will be located at that portion of the chasm known as Bridge Canyon. With a height of 566 feet this structure will be ten feet taller than the towering Washington Monument, and almost as tall as a fifty-story office building. An obstruction of this size, connecting and cementing the precipitous walls of the gorge, will bring about the creation of a lake 77 miles long, reaching upstream toward Bright Angel Trail. Other dams will provide lakes continuing throughout the canyon. The three structures nearest Bright Angel will have an aggregate height of 500 feet, with a reservoir surface of 75 or 80 linear miles. The uppermost dam of this series will be at the present tourist centre, where the slight depth of water will work no harm to the impressiveness of the view from the overhanging "rim," and will contribute the added lure of easy passage between the massive walls. Government engineers who have dared the rapids of the canyon tell us that the motor boat travel made possible by the changes will afford tourists a new and wonderful conception of the gorge and its magnificent formation. There is some-

thing romantic in the thought of motor-boating in the Grand Canyon. The rapids and whirlpools of this region have defied passage with stubborn persistence.

For more than fifty years Major John Wesley Powell stood forth as the one man who had made the passage with success. His two journeys, in 1869 and 1871, furnished scientists with data concerning the topography of the depth of the stream and the structure at its level. However, intelligent planning of the control project demanded well-organized exploration by scientists and engineers to supplement Powell's discoveries. In meeting this demand the Geological Survey wrote a thrilling page in the history of American engineering. Experts went through the canyon in canvas boats, risking their lives as a part of the day's work. Their journey was a true adventure into the heart of the unknown, and a constant conflict with natural forces resentful of human interference. That the explorers came through alive was due to careful planning and organized action in the face of continuous danger. The maps and data compiled by the members of this expedition made it possible for the

Federal Government to undertake its present project of control. The engineers realize that success in harnessing the stream can be only achieved by handling the river as a single unit, in which every detail interlocks with all others. Dams constructed above and below the Grand Canyon would be useless if they lacked the support of the structures within the canyon itself.

THE GREAT LAKES RIVALED

Spectacular as it is, the engineering project for the Grand Canyon does not surpass that planned for the upper reaches of the river in Eastern Utah. Stretching upstream from the easterly portion of the canyon will be a lake created by the 386-foot dam near Lee's Ferry, which will have a length of approximately 180 miles, equaling that of Lake Ontario. At its upper end will rise the 512-foot walls of Dark Canyon Dam, creating another upstream backwater, 150 miles long. These two lakes will have a combined length almost equivalent to the greatest dimension of Lake Michigan. The lower reaches of the river will hold four dams below Devil's Slide. These structures will have heights varying from 99 to 225 feet, with lakes from 40 to 100 miles long.

Although scenic changes are a by-product of the enterprise, its real purpose is intensely utilitarian, having the threefold object of flood control, reclamation and electrical development. The Colorado is the most untamable of American rivers. The Mississippi has yielded in some measure to control and regulation, but the Colorado has followed its own will uncurbed, turbulent and destructive. The Government project now brought forward is the first attempt to harness this stream in its various moods. Preparation for the undertaking has occupied approximately twenty years of exploration and study, of research and analysis, of careful and painstaking examination of the engineering problems involved in treating the river as a single unit.

Governmental control, involving treatment of the river as a whole, will eliminate the clashes and interference that would result from individual projects at various places along the course, which engineers



The Colorado River, its basin, tributaries and the rich Salton Valley near its delta



View down the Grand Canyon, showing the site of the Bridge Canyon Dam

declare would cut the heart out of the greater development. In this the Colorado will be more fortunate than any other important American stream. Former developments have been fragmentary and based on no comprehensive program. The Colorado is intended to be the exception and to provide a model for future undertakings.

First attention will be given the question of flood control, for under present conditions the Colorado constitutes a grave menace to great areas in the Southwest. The reason for this peril is found in the stream's habit of lifting itself by the straps of its boots, a condition especially marked in the portion adjacent to the lower-than-sea-level Salton Valley, where the self-rising proclivities of the river have subjected the low-lying lands to repeated and devastating floods. Here the river is 300 feet higher than near-by territory and overhangs the neighborhood as a constant potential source of destruction. The danger comes from the circumstance that the bottom of the river refuses to stand pat, but is given to seeking higher levels, using the silt and sand brought down from the upper reaches of its course. Upbuilding of the river bed proceeds at a rate estimated at 6,000,000 carloads a year, showing that the Colorado is a hard-working stream.

In its passage through the Salton region the river is none too securely confined within banks of easily eroded silt formation. The normal channel, toward the Gulf of California, is flat and sluggish. At the right lies the sunken area of the Salton Valley. Geology shows that in past ages the river flowed into these lowlands and that the present outlet to the Gulf of California is the result of delta-building through the deposit of material washed down from above. It is strange that the river chooses the flat course to the south instead of taking the grade ten times as steep into the Salton Basin. Studies conducted by geologists and scientists of the United States Weather Bureau leave little question that during the last ten thousand years the Colorado frequently has turned from the Gulf to the sunken area of Salton Valley. A change of this character is gradual. Each year brings an upbuilding of the bed along the left bank by means of an added layer of sand and silt, accompanied by steady cutting of the right bank as a result of excessive flow during the flood period. Finally, at some season of especially high water, the cutting process penetrates the right bank and causes the river to descend the steep grade leading to the thickly settled Salton Basin.

The most recent happening of this char-

acter occurred during the early years of the twentieth century, when the river flooded the valley and worked damage computed in millions of dollars. Restoration of the flow through the normal channel was a work of two years at heavy expense. The aim of the new Colorado River project is to make such incidents impossible. That definite danger exists, and that protective steps are necessary is vividly set forth by James H. Gordon of the United States Weather Bureau at Yuma, Ariz. Citing the modern development of the rich Salton Basin through reclamation, Mr. Gordon writes to the Weather Bureau at Washington:

Here, then, is our problem. The Colorado River, flowing along the crest of a ridge, turns to the left to follow a sluggish way to the Gulf. To the right is the Salton Basin, its lowest point but little further from the river than the Gulf, and offering a drop ten times as great. The basin of today is not the hated desert of the past, but a rich agricultural area worth a hundred million dollars, and providing homes for 50,000 people. It is one of the ironies of nature that the Colorado River drove man from the Salton Basin a thousand years ago by turning to the Gulf, causing the evaporation of the Salton Sea and leaving the land a region of desert waste, while today the same river would drive him out by returning to the Salton Basin. During all the years in which

the river has been flowing into the south, it has been forcing back the head of the Gulf of California, building up the country, and flattening out its own grade, until it would seem that the cycle is almost completed. The Colorado River is ready to turn again into the Salton Basin and blot out the civilization of today as it blotted out the desert of yesterday. This is the great problem of the lower Colorado, the problem of a river tremendously powerful during its annual flood period and ready, from the preparation of a thousand years, to turn its flow back into the old sea bed in the Salton Basin.

The high waters of 1922 and 1923 were carried successfully by levees constructed after the flood of 1905, but the river has followed its old custom, spread out, lost velocity and built up its delta. In 1923 gauge readings were a foot higher than those for the same discharge at the same point in 1922. Levees which held the river in 1922 were overtopped in 1923. Because of new lines of levees further back there has been no break into the Salton Basin since 1906, but there is threat of one at every high water. On the holding of a long, thin line of granite-faced levees depends the safety of the Salton Basin country.

STORAGE RESERVOIRS

Thus one of the major aims of the Colorado River project as put forward by the Government is to create 2,000 square miles of reservoirs for the storage of the flood waters. Release of the stored supply in a



The site of the Glen Canyon Dam, which is to be 386 feet high and will create a reservoir 175 miles long

regulated flow will avert floods and bring safety where devastation now threatens.

Another problem of the lower Colorado, as viewed by Mr. Gordon, is the lack of sufficient water for irrigation purposes during the long periods between annual floods. Within three months after high-water period the Colorado ceases to be a big river. Development of the surrounding country is limited by the minimum flow. In its course from the 14,000-foot elevation of its headwaters the Colorado flows through a vast area of land now sterile and unproductive, but ready and waiting to respond to the magic gift of fertilizing water. The proposed series of dams will give the needed water supply, regulated to meet the requirements of the land under irrigation. Estimates by Government engineers indicate that the dams will make possible the reclamation of 6,000,000 acres of land, with possibilities of yearly crops worth \$400,000,000. Thus, Mr. Gordon points out, the damming of the river will solve both the flood and irrigation problems.

In electrical development the Colorado is practically virgin territory. Estimates of electrical development possible through the building of the proposed dams promise a minimum of 5,000,000 horsepower. The artificial lakes created by the thirteen dams will vary from the narrow fjords confined between precipitous walls in the canyons to broad expanses of water up to ten miles in width. Vast pictorial changes in the

Western landscape will be inevitable. The Grand Canyon will be but one of the many regions of scenic interest which will be opened for easy travel by the chain of lakes marking the course of the river. A notable example is Utah's Rainbow Natural Bridge, recognized as one of the most marvelous formations in existence. Under present conditions this massive arch is difficult of access. With the building of a 386-foot dam at Glen Canyon the backwaters will place the bridge within a mile of civilization and the modern motor boat. For size and symmetry the Rainbow Bridge is unequaled. Its arching height of 309 feet and graceful span of 208 feet, would house the dome of the National Capitol, with space to spare.

The stupendous structural requirements of the chain of dams would be fantastic but for the care with which the engineers have calculated a basis on which the work can be accomplished. An illustration of the scale of construction is found in the typical case of the dam at Glen Canyon. With a height of 386 feet this structure will combine concrete foundations extending to bedrock 77 feet below the normal water level. Building the underground portion will necessitate the daily pouring in of 10,000 cubic yards of concrete during the period between high waters. At twenty yards to the car the daily consumption would require 500 freight cars for its transportation.



Arlington: A National Memorial

By J. G. de ROULHAC HAMILTON

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AT the crest of a hill in Virginia, surrounded by fine old trees, and overlooking a wooded slope and the blue and placid Potomac, stands a severely simple and wonderfully beautiful Doric mansion. When once it strikes the eye of the observer, it becomes the dominating object of the landscape of which it forms a part. It is Arlington House. It stands in the midst of memorials of every sort, hundreds of them, each commemorating an individual. Many of these have a nationwide, even a worldwide, significance. Down the river, just out of sight, is Mount Vernon, the home of Washington. Across the river is the beautiful Capital City which bears his name, with the towering monument erected by his countrymen. In plain view is the noble Lincoln Memorial, commemorating the preserver of the Union which Washington helped to create. The stately beginnings of St. Alban's Cathedral are close by, the resting place of Woodrow Wilson, spokesman of the liberal forces of the world. At the foot of the hill, beside the Memorial Amphitheatre, is the Unknown Soldier, also a casualty of the World War. All are shrines of patriots and all are enshrined in the hearts of Americans. But greatest of all is Arlington. For Arlington is not individual, but national. As broad in its inclusiveness as the United States itself, its appeal is truly catholic. In its view lie all the memorials, and, as a proper setting for such a shrine, form an integral part of it.

Arlington as a place of sentiment and interest dates back to the Civil War. A century ago it was the object of patriotic veneration because of its close association with George Washington, whose adopted son built and owned it. Here were innumerable relics of Washington. Here came, as a matter of course, Lafayette when he visited America. Notables—Presidents, soldiers and statesmen—all congregated to enjoy the easy and genuine hospitality which made Arlington known and admired throughout the land as finely typical of the traditions, home life and social grace

of the Old South. Welcomed with the same gracious and friendly hospitality, the poor and the humble came also, to dance and make merry on the grounds. Here Robert Edward Lee, the idol of the South and one of the foremost soldiers of history, was married to Mary Custis and lived during the peaceful intervals of his active military life.

But there is more to Arlington than the glamour of a beautiful and peaceful past; there is tragedy as well. Here Lee, on his knees in prayer, made the fateful decision which caused him to leave Arlington, forever associated with his fame, and take the step which made him the leader of the lost cause in which, although defeated, he won imperishable renown.

Arlington was chosen for the headquarters of the army defending the City of Washington. A hospital cared for the wounded, sick and dying of both armies, both laying down their lives for the causes they believed in. Abraham Lincoln frequently found at Arlington a moment's pause of rest and quiet in the midst of the agony of mind which he suffered in the nation's trial. The dead of the Civil War were buried here, and the first to be interred for his long sleep was a North Carolina Confederate soldier, a prophecy of future unity and the disappearance of hostile sectionalism. By his side was laid a Union soldier from New York. Here lie, too, the dead of later wars; of the battleship Maine, of Cuba, of the Philippines, of China, of Vera Cruz, of shell-torn France. General and private, Admiral and blue-jacket, all rest under the shade of the trees.

Chance and the course of events made Arlington a national memorial, interwoven into the very fabric of the nation's history. It had no other purpose at the beginning than the home of a simple country gentleman. Chance, too, identified it with the military leader of the Confederacy, and chance, pure and simple, made it the resting place for Union dead. As a memorial, it lacked both architect and plan, yet it is no less beautiful, no less peaceful, no less

stirring, no less soul-satisfying. Since the Civil War it has gradually become part of American tradition, and on March 4, 1925, Congress passed a joint resolution providing for the restoration of Arlington House as it was when occupied by Lee, the one step needed to complete the national character of the memorial and make it a perfect tribute.

To the thousands who visit the mansion, its interior has up to now been in sharp contrast to the beauty and stately dignity of its exterior. Empty and bare, it has saddened every visitor, not one of whom has departed without a sense of depression and disappointment out of keeping with the spirit of the place. Its restoration marks fittingly the end of one phase of sectionalism.

The history of Arlington carries us back to the middle of the seventeenth century. On Oct. 21, 1669, the land now comprising the place was granted by Governor Sir William Berkeley of Virginia to Robert Howsen in recognition of his services in the settlement of Virginia. In the same year Howsen sold it to John Alexander for six hogsheads of tobacco, and for a century it remained in the possession of the Alexander family. In 1725 a frame manor house was built in the lowlands to the east of the present mansion, and there the various owners lived. In 1778 Gerald Alexander sold eleven hundred acres of the land to John Parke Custis, the son of Martha Washington by her first marriage, for £1,000. He named it Arlington after his family home on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. He died in 1781, leaving the place to his son, George Washington Parke Custis, then an infant of 6 months, who, with his sister, Eleanor Parke (Nelly), was adopted by General Washington.

Washington Custis, as he was called in youth, grew up at Mount Vernon and became known as "the child of Mount Vernon." He and Nelly received from Washington all the care and affection of a father. Nelly married his favorite nephew, Lawrence Lewis, and thus tightened the ties which already bound them. Her brother had a charming personality and some talent, but was inclined to indolence. He was educated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, and at St. John's College, Annapolis, doing little

at either to distinguish him in scholarship, and Washington finally brought him back to Mount Vernon to complete his studies under a private tutor. During the flare-up of hostilities with France in 1798-99 he was commissioned a cornet in the provisional army, but was, of course, not called into service.

After Washington's death his adopted son remained at Mount Vernon with his grandmother until her death in 1802, when he moved to Arlington and began the construction of the present mansion. He selected as the site of his new home a spot on the bluff 300 feet above the river and about a half mile from it, ideally suited for a residence. Behind it lay heavy, original forests, with superb trees covering several hundred acres. In front there was a gradual slope to the fertile fields along the Potomac. The view was, and still is, superb. Georgetown and the infant Capital City were in plain sight, while between them rolled the Potomac, visible for many miles in each direction.

The house which he built was generally regarded in the period before the Civil War as the finest residence as well as the best piece of classical architecture in the South. It was an adaptation of some Greek temple; some say of the Doric Temple of Paestum near Naples; others of the Temple of Theseus at Athens. The most striking feature of the mansion is its portico, 60 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 21½ feet high. This has eight massive Doric columns, 5 feet in diameter at the base, six on the front and one on each side, with a dignified cornice and plain pediment. The building is of grand proportions, the front being 140 feet long.

On the ground floor the rooms have a pitch of 12 or 15 feet. On the right of the hall is a large room, 24 by 30 feet, which during the lifetime of Mr. Custis was used as a Summer dining room, but which during the occupancy of the Lees was a drawing room. In this room, on June 30, 1831, Robert E. Lee and Mary Custis, the only child of Mr. Custis, were married. The room to the right of this, of the same size, Mr. Custis used as a studio; the Lees as a guest room. The smaller end room, which Mr. Custis used as an office, became later a dressing room. The

north wing, to the left of the sitting room, contains three rooms, which were occupied by Mrs. Custis. Upstairs are four large bedrooms, one small one, and two dressing rooms. Because of lack of funds the rooms on the south side of the hall were never finished by Mr. Custis, but after his death the Lees had them plastered and painted and mantels put in.

The outside walls of the house are stucco over brick, and as Mr. Custis always intended to add a veranda at the back he never stuccoed that wall. This was done after the United States Government took possession of the place. The servants' quarters, stables and other buildings are of pleasing lines, in keeping with the mansion.

In 1804 Mr. Custis brought his bride, Mary Lee Fitzhugh, then a girl of 16 years of age, to this beautiful home. She was of the salt of the earth, and through the half century of her married life was the worthy mistress of a noble home.

Arlington House became at once notable for its historical interest. It was a shrine of the Father of His Country, thanks to the adoration in which Mr. Custis held his memory and the fact that he had in his possession so many things intimately associated with the life of Washington. Here was to be found the famous punch bowl, presented to him by French naval officers, with the painting of a frigate on the inside, the hull on the bottom of the bowl and the masts extending to the rim. Whenever punch was served in it at Arlington it was an ironclad rule, as well as a point of honor, that the hull must be fully exposed before the sitting ended. Here, too, were Washington's silver tea set on its massive tray, his silver wine coolers and coasters, his silver inkstand, his desk, his great war tent in two leather cases, and the bed in which he ordinarily slept and in which he died. Mrs. Washington's silver candlesticks, several sets of beautiful china and glass, including those presented to her by Lafayette, by the Society of the Cincinnati and by French officers, were here, as was the iron chest in which were stored the certificates of the £30,000 which constituted a part of her fortune as the Widow Custis.

The two Peale portraits of Washington;

the profile crayon likeness by Sharpless, the last picture ever made of Washington, a half bust by Houdon, a miniature by Robertson, and profiles of Lafayette and himself, made on copper by the Marchioness de Brienne and presented to Washington in 1789, were among the art treasures. There were also Peale portraits of Daniel Parke Custis, Martha Washington's first husband and of her; a crayon portrait of her by Sharpless, Gilbert Stuart's well-known portrait of Nelly Custis, and many Parke and Custis family portraits, including one by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and a fine Vandyke.

Not all the paintings at Arlington were good, however. Mr. Custis, besides playing the violin after a fashion, dabbled in painting. When he was nearly 70 years old he began to take himself seriously as an artist and set to work to immortalize the Revolutionary War in art. He painted pictures representing the Battles of Trenton, Princeton, Germantown and Monmouth, the Surrender of Yorktown and Washington mounted on his war horse at Yorktown. As works of art they were poor, and Lossing gave them all the praise they deserve when he said: "Their chief value lies in their truthfulness to history, in the delineation of events, incidents and costumes." Mr. Custis also began to paint on the walls of the hall a series of frescoes representing hunting scenes, which he never completed. It is hoped that these may be omitted in the restoration.

Mr. Custis, who was a hospitable soul, entertained lavishly but unpretentiously. Guests, distinguished and otherwise, were the rule rather than the exception. Lafayette, who had known him as an infant and whose son, George Washington Lafayette, had been his playmate at Mount Vernon, visited him when he returned to the United States in 1825. At Arlington Spring, down near the river, was an ideal picnic ground in a beautiful grove. Here Mr. Custis built a dining hall, with kitchen and storerooms and a dancing pavilion. All well-behaved people were welcome to make use of the place except on Sunday. In 1852 it was estimated that more than 20,000 persons visited it. On the grounds near by was a weeping willow called "Pope's Willow." It had been planted there by a Brit-

ish officer in 1775, who had taken the slip from a weeping willow in the grounds of Pope's villa at Twickenham in England. The one at Arlington was the parent tree of all of its kind in the United States.

Mr. Custis was interested in farming and made Arlington a productive and profitable estate. It is interesting to note that under the direction of Lee it became far more profitable than ever before. Mr. Custis was particularly interested in improved stock and had at Arlington one of the finest flocks of merino sheep in America.

Being sociable and interested in people and affairs, Mr. Custis spent considerable time in Washington, making innumerable friends from all parts of the country. He attended Washington's first inauguration in 1789 and was present at every succeeding induction of a President until his death. In 1856 he died and left Arlington to his daughter, Mrs. Lee, for her lifetime. From her it was to descend to her son, George Washington Custis Lee. The will provided that the Mount Vernon plate and the relics of Washington should be kept intact forever.

When in April, 1861, Lee declined the chief command of the armies of the United States to follow the fortunes of his native State, he at once left Arlington with his family and went to Richmond to assume command of the Virginia troops. Neither he nor Mrs. Lee ever saw it again. At Arlington they left everything as it was. A few days later Federal troops took possession of the place, and later in the year Forts McPherson and Whipple were built on the estate. The Mount Vernon and Washington relics were carried to the Patent Office and were afterward sent to the National Museum, where they remained, in spite of all the efforts of General and Mrs. Lee and their sons to regain possession of them, until President McKinley, shortly before his death, ordered them restored to their owner.

Under the direct tax acts of June 7, 1862, and Feb. 6, 1863, taxes amounting to \$92.03 were levied against Arlington. Friends and relatives of Mrs. Lee tendered the money to pay the taxes, but it was invariably refused on the alleged ground that it must be paid by the owner in person. On Jan. 11, 1864, the mansion was sold

at auction and bought in by the United States for \$26,800.

The transformation of the place into a cemetery, as has been mentioned, was accidental. Up to 1864 soldiers who died in Washington were buried at the Soldiers' Home, until finally all available space was occupied. One day early in 1864 General M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster General of the United States Army, was invited by President Lincoln to join him on a drive. They went to Arlington, where there was a large military hospital, and, standing on the terrace, they saw a long line of stretchers with the dead on the way to the Soldiers' Home for burial. General Meigs had just been notified that no more could be buried there, and he at once stopped the cortège, saying to the officer in charge: "Captain, order out a burial squad and see that all bodies at Arlington are buried on the place at once." Walking off a few paces, he continued: "Bury these here." Twelve were buried at that time, the first being a Confederate prisoner from North Carolina and the second Edward S. Fisher of New York, a Union soldier, the two thus typifying, in their peaceful rest side by side, the disappearance of the bitterness of civil war. In June, 1864, by order of the Secretary of War, Arlington was made a national cemetery, and before the war closed more than 12,000 soldiers had been buried there.

After Mr. Lee's death General George W. C. Lee, who inherited it under the will of Mr. Custis, brought suit to recover the place, and the Supreme Court of the United States in December, 1882, restored it to him. It was, of course, obviously impossible to change the existing situation at Arlington, and he expressed a willingness to sell it to the Government, which in March, 1883, purchased it for \$150,000.

The mansion was recently described thus: "More mournful a memorial than granite slab or marble cross, more eloquent than inscription carved in stone, the forsaken mansion stands, a silent monument to the Lost Cause." Arlington has seemed to many simply that, but henceforth it is far more. The Lost Cause has finally been merged into a nation's history, and Arlington, no more its memorial, is the visible symbol and token of national unity.

The Uneducated Filipino an Obstacle To Progress

By NORBERT LYONS

Secretary of the United States Mission of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands

THE departure of President Coolidge's special envoy, Colonel Carmi A. Thompson, to the Philippines on June 15, 1926, for the purpose of making an economic survey of the islands would seem to mark the beginning of a new movement having as its object a rapid and satisfactory settlement of the various vexatious problems arising out of our sovereignty over that archipelago. Soon after Colonel Thompson's departure Congress passed a bill creating a Congressional committee of five which is to visit the Philippines every two years for the purpose of keeping the national lawmakers informed at first hand on developments in the Philippines.

While these investigations will probably deal largely with the political and economic phases of our Far Eastern colonial problems, the educational record of our country in the Philippines has also recently come in for a thorough and impartial analysis at the hands of some of America's leading educational authorities. The importance of this survey, hearings on which were concluded in Manila on May 29, 1926, by a special committee of the Philippine Legislature, is indicated by the following statement made by Professor George S. Counts of Yale University, one of the investigators, upon his return:

The introduction of the American school system into the Philippines twenty-five years ago was one of the boldest experiments in human enlightenment ever undertaken. Although the time is not ripe for passing final judgment on the success of the enterprise, the experience of the quarter century is of the greatest value to the statesman, sociologist and student of education.

That the American school system established in the Philippine Islands has not progressed with the times was the chief conclusion contained in the remarkably exhaustive and interesting report of the commission of American experts which last year completed a thorough educa-

tional survey of the islands. We have, it appears, still much to do in the islands before we can conscientiously say that our altruistic mission as guides and preceptors of the young Filipino mind has been adequately carried out, and in many important respects we have signally failed.

In January, 1925, the Commission of Educational Survey headed by Dr. Paul Monroe, Director of the International Institute and Professor of Education at Columbia University (who served without salary), arrived in Manila and immediately went about its labors. Dr. Monroe was assisted by a staff of seven well-known experts from the United States and thirteen local American and Filipino research associates, as well as 150 Filipino students of education as clerical aids. For more than two months these men and women covered every portion of the archipelago, traveling by steamer, rail, sailboat, automobile, horseback, mule and on foot, visiting schools in thirty of the forty-nine provinces. Standard tests were given to 32,000 pupils and 1,077 teachers. In all 223,000 examination records, involving more than 6,000,000 separate items, were made available for study as a basis for the report.

The 700-page record of this survey is interesting not only from a professional and technical standpoint, but also because it throws much new light on Philippine social and political conditions. At the same time it permits of an accurate evaluation of the effects wrought upon the Filipino body social by a quarter century of American educational effort and furnishes much enlightening comparative data on the mentality and cultural capacity of Filipinos and Americans, both children and adults. This great task, so conscientiously carried out, was initiated by Vice Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction Eugene A. Gilmore.

The survey showed that the school system has become a highly organized machine, but has lagged far behind in modern educational practice. While the school has been the symbol of American civilization in the islands, just as the Church was the symbol of the Spanish rule, and the American effort has been intense and widespread, its effects apparently have not been commensurate with the energy and money expended. The insular expense on education rose from \$2,000,000 in 1903 to \$10,500,000 in 1923. Yet we are told that in not more than 1 or 2 per cent. of the homes is English used as the chief means of oral communication. The children do not remain in school long enough on the average to learn any language. Less than one-third of Filipino children between the ages of 7 and 10 are now in school and only one-half of the children between the ages of 11 and 13. Attendance is not compulsory. To provide school facilities for all children of primary and intermediary school age would require an increase of 100 per cent. in the annual appropriation for school purposes. The public school enrolment today is 1,200,000.

Much has been said in the past about the zeal for education displayed by the Filipinos and the support they are giving education through their insular budget. There undoubtedly is a general desire for education, but there are numerous instances of parents refusing to send their children to school, this being given as one of the reasons why so many Filipino school children are too old for their grades. As for governmental support of education, records show that in 1923 the Philippine schools received 23 per cent. of the total revenue. This percentage, however, is still one-seventh less than the average appropriation of any State in the United States. A peculiar feature of Philippine educational support is that three-fourths of the funds used for educational purposes come from the central Government and only one-fourth from the local Governments. This is exactly the reverse of the situation in the United States.

An inordinate amount of paper work clogs the administrative activities of the Philippine educational organization, according to the survey. Ever since the Amer-

ican soldier-teacher, with a rod in one hand and a gun in the other, gave birth to the present Philippine school system, the paper routine has steadily grown as each successive educational head added his few yards of red tape, until today the rules, regulations, reports, schedules, plans and so forth are overwhelming in their number and complexity and in the demands they make upon the time and energies of the educational personnel, from the director down. They leave little time for original research and experiment and reduce inspection below the desirable minimum.

It is in the teaching and use of the English language that the Philippine school system is chiefly defective. All instruction is given in that language, and one would think that after nearly a quarter century of such instruction the language would have obtained a fairly strong foothold. English of a sort, to be sure, is in quite general use, but correct usage of the language is almost wholly absent. Only an insignificant percentage of the teachers were found to be fairly competent in the use of English. Even Filipino Principals lack good control of the language. The chief reason for the progressive decline of the English language in the Philippine public school system is the rapid diminution of the American teaching personnel. In 1903 the percentage of American teachers was 21; by 1913 it had declined to 10; and today only 1 teacher in something more than 100 is an American.

Of the 27,000 Filipino teachers fully 95 per cent. have no professional preparation. The Monroe Commission recommends an increase in the number of American teachers and greater care in their selection and assignment. Salaries paid to American teachers in the islands are also deemed too low, and the recommendation is made that they be made at least as high as for similar work in the United States. There is an elaborate retirement pension system in the Philippines, but unfortunately it is unsound from an actuarial standpoint, as no adequate provision is made for meeting the accrued liabilities. Employment of teachers who have retired from teaching in the United States is suggested as a possible means of meeting the American teacher shortage. Another suggestion is that the

phonograph be employed extensively in the teaching of English, especially to make the natives acquainted with correct pronunciation.

One would naturally presume that in the tropical Philippine climate, the teachers' working hours would be fewer than in the United States; but records show that while in the United States the average number of periods taught by a teacher in a week is twenty-five, a teacher in the Philippines puts in an average of thirty to forty periods weekly.

TOO MANY OFFICE WORKERS

One of the most striking results of the American educational system in the islands is the heavy increase in the proportion of persons holding "white collar" or office jobs. This in an agricultural country like the Philippines presents a serious problem. When Americans first occupied the islands only 2 per cent. of the population were engaged in these "white collar" occupations. In 1920 the percentage of office-workers had risen to 12, and it is probably higher today. The normal percentage in a country such as the United States is only 4. This is one of the grounds on which the commission recommends that the number of students in Philippine high schools be cut in half, and that provision be made for more practical industrial training. Besides the high percentage of the population actually engaged in clerical pursuits, there is a large indeterminate floating population of potential recruits to the "white collar" army who are not engaged in any gainful occupation. The commercial and professional fields cannot absorb all these "illustrados," there being too few jobs to go around, and the result is that the only possible outlet for their educational acquirements is in the civil service. Government employment, with its attendant prestige and certainty of emolument, is the ultimate aim of a majority of school and college graduates.

The commission also ascribes much of the growing social unrest in the islands to the presence of this oversupply of educated persons. It results in too many young men taking up politics as a profession. On the other hand, the growth of the educated class has brought about a

more articulate popular resentment at the social abuses practiced by the "caciques," or regional bosses, who in many instances are also the political bosses. The people are becoming better informed as to their civil individual rights under American rule.

In order to test the permanency of the knowledge acquired by school children a number of Filipino adults with previous school training were examined. Those who had had only three years of schooling retained almost nothing of what they had learned when examined five years after leaving school. Those with four years or more of school training retained a considerable proportion of their educational acquirements. Another index to the practical results of the Philippine school system may be discovered in the civil service examinations. It was found that out of 190,000 candidates who took English composition tests in the past ten years 77 per cent. had failed. In various years the percentage of failures was as high as 97 to 99. Out of 1,134 candidates in 1921, 1,114 failed. In 1918 not a single candidate out of 292 passed the civil service test for messenger, and in 1921 every one of the 160 candidates for third class patrolman failed. The following year only 13 per cent. of 561 candidates for junior teacher passed the examination.

After mature deliberation the commission reached the conclusion that the present heavy expenditure for primary education in the islands is largely wasted, and can only be justified if the children can either be kept in school longer or taught by methods efficient enough to compensate for the comparatively short period of school attendance. Extension of educational facilities in the Philippines is considered desirable in a general sense, but hand in hand must go a readjustment of the whole system to normal age standards.

Filipino children are between seven and ten years old when they enter primary school, fully half of them being over nine. Over-age pupils are numerous in all grades. Some are 25 years old and over. Besides, failures, and consequent repetitions of grades, are far more frequent than in the United States. Only one-half of the

children go through school without repeating one or more grades. The average time for completing the first four grades is five years, and 82 per cent. of the pupils do not go beyond the fourth grade. Children remain in school less than three years on an average, and 95 per cent. of the pupils are in the first two grades. There are 77,000 pupils in the elementary schools who are 16 years or over, and 5,000 who are 20 or older. Many high school students remain in school two, three and four years beyond the normal period of attendance. On the whole, however, to quote the report, "the mass of the Filipino people do not stay in school now long enough to develop for permanent use even the rudiments of an education."

One outstanding reason for this condition is that the curriculum of the Philippine elementary schools is too advanced for the pupils. Handicapped as the latter are by the use of an unfamiliar language, poor teachers, a primitive background and economic limitations, they are expected to cover in a seven-year course the same ground as is included in the typical eight-year elementary course in the United States, and considerable industrial work in addition. Despite the great volume of work assigned to the pupils, however, they do not seem to receive an adequate amount of training in the English language, the foundation of all their learning. We learn, for example, that the quantity of reading material given to pupils in the first four years of study is very limited. Filipino Normal School teachers read aloud all the basal texts of the first four grades in twelve and three-quarter hours and all the supplementary books in fourteen and a half hours. Thus the opportunity for extensive silent reading, regarded by the experts as the most effective means of acquiring the language, is extremely limited. Moreover, to quote the report, "libraries and magazines, newspapers and books practically do not exist."

A movement to introduce the use of dialects in the Philippine schools is not favorably regarded by the commission. It is pointed out that there are six large language groups in the islands, the largest consisting of 1,850,000 people and the smallest of 339,000. These groups are di-

vided into forty-three distinct lingual and eighty-seven dialect groups, and no tendency is apparent among these groups to form a distinctive language. Continuance of English as the language of instruction is strongly advocated by the survey experts.

Despite the results obtained thus far, sufficient evidence was accumulated to convince the investigators that Filipino children are quite capable of assimilating instruction in English. During the first six months they lag considerably behind American children, but from the sixth grade on they can receive instruction in English and spell as well as American children. Tests made of the general intellectual capacity of the native children indicate that, although on the whole they are somewhat behind American children, they possess sufficient intellect to assimilate an education of the type favored among modern nations. These tests were carried out with an important language handicap, though every effort was made to adapt the tests to conditions in the Philippines and the lingual limitations of the subjects. To offset this handicap, the average age, and hence mental development of the Filipino school child, grade for grade, is comparatively two years greater than that of the American child. On the whole, therefore, these factors may be said to have neutralized each other, so that the tests as conducted were eminently fair as a basis of comparison between American and Filipino school children.

The tests showed that in paragraph reading, sentence meaning, word meaning, recognition of correctness of language, spelling (up to the sixth grade), arithmetical reasoning ability and literature information, Filipino children were appreciably below the average for children in the United States. In nature study and science information, they made a particularly poor showing, but proved themselves to be quite equal to American children in arithmetical computation. A chart depicting the general efficiency of American and Filipino children shows, educationally speaking, that on an average the Filipino child, although older in years, grade for grade, is from one to two years behind the American child. To give a concrete ex-

ample, the average attainment of the Filipino pupil at the end of the fourth grade is that of the completed second grade in the United States. A noteworthy exception to the rule is presented by the Central School of Manila, attended by white or nearly white children, where the average attainment is above that of schools in the United States.

SHOCKING HEALTH CONDITIONS

Health and sanitary conditions in the Philippine schools were found to be shockingly bad. Medical inspection is incomplete and frequently casual. The Red Cross reports that out of 209,744 children inspected in 1924, 168,662 were found to be defective. No province is estimated to have fewer than 50 per cent. defectives, and in many the percentage of defectives is over 60. Sixty-nine per cent. of children inspected had dental defects. When we consider the fact that there is but one doctor to something over every 10,000 of population and that the country physician is practically unknown in the islands, this situation need cause little surprise.

One great boon brought to the Filipino people through the American school system is a general interest in athletics, fostered and developed principally through the schools. However, at the present time too much attention is given to calisthenics and military drill—forms of exercise which have a tendency to stifle initiative. As the report says, "there is a tremendous amount of talk about self-government, but there is no actual training in the art itself." There is not enough play outside the schoolyard. The investigators also recommend higher scholarship attainments for outstanding athletes.

Although there are practically no disciplinary problems in the schools because of the generally good behavior of the pupils, morals are not so good. The rapid strides of civilization have proven too much for the native character in many instances. Standards of honesty and truthfulness are low. Cheating in examinations and other school tasks is quite prevalent. Spanish influences emphasized the social graces, but did little for the social virtues. Tribal and family backgrounds have led to a lessening of the sense of individual possession. Co-education has worked very

badly in some instances. The proportion of boys to girls attending the public schools is two to one. The commission recommends continuance of the present system of optional religious instruction.

Political influences are felt to an inordinate extent in the Philippine educational system. Under Governor General Harrison the Philippine Legislature passed a law by which every appointment to a position carrying a salary of \$1,500 or over must be approved by the Council of State, an extra-legal body in which the Filipino political leaders have control and which was created to tie the hands of the Governor General. This situation has operated to undermine the higher teaching and supervisory personnel. The evils of political influence are also evident in the budget methods by which the Legislature specifies detailed items of the school budget; in the "pork barrel" method of handling the building funds; in the award of textbook contracts through a committee controlled by the Legislature instead of by a board of experts, and in the political control of the University of the Philippines, which is a veritable hotbed of politics. Speaking of some of the building activities, the report says that "construction of such buildings as the normal school buildings in Ilocos Norte, at Zamboanga, at Cebu and at Iloilo represents an extravagance which the Philippines can ill afford. No country with but 5 per cent. of normal school graduates among the teachers in its elementary schools can afford to build such buildings. They are designed for monuments, not for practical school purposes." The commission unqualifiedly condemns political influence in the Philippine school system and makes several recommendations designed to eliminate it. The university, it states, would be more certain of proper administration by having its board of regents become a definitely non-political body with secure tenure of office and a real measure of administrative autonomy.

The University of the Philippines with its 6,000 students has had a very rapid growth since its establishment in 1910, and Filipinos are now in full control of the institution. These young pedagogues—the average age of the teaching staff is under 40, believed to be lower than anywhere

else in the world—have permitted their ambitions to run away with them by establishing too many courses, many of which overlap. In general they have not paid enough attention to space and curriculum requirements. There is an undue proportion of outside lecturers with the administrative personnel often lamentably inadequate. As an instance, the director of the School of Fine Arts, with its 1,179 students, has only one assistant, who combines in himself the duties of secretary, registrar, clerk and of all other officials usually found in an institution of this size. So-called “junior colleges” in cities outside of Manila are deemed unjustified and unnecessary. It is worth noting that in the University of the Philippines more students are wholly or partially self-supporting than in any university in the United States.

Of the numerous private schools and colleges conducted for profit, which have sprung up in the islands in recent years, the vast majority are far below standard both as regards instruction and sanitary conditions. About 150,000 students attend these private institutions. The only schools and colleges of this class deemed worthy of commendation are the comparatively few under religious or denominational auspices, and even some of them are antiquated in methods of instruction and are inadequately equipped. Senator Camilo Osias, elected last June, is President of one of the largest of these private colleges, an institution which received a very low scholastic rating in the Monroe report. He has vigorously attacked the report, as have one or two other members of the Legislature. Senator Osias is a former assistant director of education and influential in the Legislature where educational matters are concerned.

Governor General Wood and Vice Governor Gilmore are doing everything possible to carry out the recommendations of the Monroe Commission to the extent that their limited executive and administrative authority permits. However, many of the reforms advocated in the educational survey report can be carried into effect only through legislative enactment, so that the Philippine Legislature faces a real test in its dealing with the recommendations of the Monroe Commission.

During the hearings recently concluded before the special committee of the Philippine law-making body, school superintendents, chiefly Filipinos, testified that the educational system lacked competent leadership. They recommended that American educators of recognized ability be employed to direct the Bureau of Education until such time as competent Filipinos could be developed to take their places.

Replying to some of the findings of the Monroe commission, and especially to statements made in this country by Professor Counts, Dr. Luther B. Bewley, director of the Philippine Bureau of Education, on March 24, 1926, issued a statement in which he said:

A reading of the Monroe Survey Report will show that the opinions of the board were unduly influenced by the fact that Filipinos fail to articulate the English word in the prescribed American way, and that their spoken and written English is not the idiomatic speech of the American. Nevertheless a large number of Filipinos have entered directly from our high schools into colleges and universities of the United States and have been able to hold their own with American students in spite of these supposed handicaps.

We hold no brief for our schools as being beyond criticism, nor do we say there is not large room for improvement; but since comparisons are the order of the day, we venture to say that few systems of schools have contributed more to the happiness, the general health and the general progress of the people they serve, taking into consideration the relative cost of their maintenance, than have the schools of the Philippine Islands. The comparison attributed to Dr. Counts [who stated that the standards of education in the Philippines are far below those obtaining in the United States] is just as absurd as was the use by the Monroe Educational Survey Board of the American-derived norm in carrying out its testing program in the Philippine public schools.

On the other hand, Vice Governor Gilmore, who was called upon by the Legislature for an expression of views on the Monroe report, issued a printed statement supporting most of the principal findings and recommendations of the report and declaring his intention of carrying out those dependent wholly upon administrative initiative. There are a number of important recommendations, however, that require legislative appropriations, and these were to be dealt with during the present session, which began July 17, 1926.

Heroes and Villains of the World War

By CHARLES A. BEARD

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Authoritative Works on American and European History and Politics

WHY bother about the origins of the World War? It is all over now. The United States was forced to take part in it on account of the overt acts committed by the German Imperial Government against American lives and property. The American people and American soldiers played their rôle bravely and asked for no material spoils in the distribution of goods and territory at Versailles. Let us get back to normalcy and business as usual. That is probably about the average, common-sense view of the late cataclysm in Europe.

To this avoidance of the question of "war guilt"—a very unhappy phrase—Professor Harry E. Barnes* makes a cogent answer. He points out that, while the physical combat has closed, the economic war goes on. That war consists of attempts to collect reparations and other damages; it grows out of the article in the Versailles treaty which forced Germany to accept "the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." On this assumption rests the case of the Entente statesmen who promise to keep Europe in turmoil for half a century in their efforts to wring enormous sums of money from Germany—a turmoil that disturbs the peace of the world and injures the commerce of the United States. If a mere love of justice does not impel us to seek information on the vexatious subject of war responsibility, then a care for the substantial interests of the American people should move us to that enterprise. Mr. Barnes does not stop here. If the professions of our statesmen and editors are to be taken at face value, then the American people ardently desire to escape a recur-

rence of such holocausts as devastated the world between 1914 and 1918. Since this is so, it is imperative that we should study with unremitting zeal everything that throws light upon the statecraft which precipitated that crisis.

Finally, the historians are at work. It is the business of hundreds of professors to teach modern European history. Unless they are false to their trust, they must act as judges in high courts of law—hear all competent witnesses, examine into all the evidence and make their decisions square with the pertinent facts. The peculiar circumstances of the late war conspire to drive the historians forward in this path of inquiry at high speed. Ordinarily the generation that fights a war knows little or nothing about the designs, exchanges and devices of the statesmen who bring it about. Diplomatic archives are not open to journalists and scholars until long after the actors are dead—usually fifty or a hundred years after the crisis to which they relate. But in the case of the late war, revolution tore open the foreign offices of Russia, Germany and Austria and revealed to the public things that even the most sapient editors had never dreamed of. The archives of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States are still intact, but the materials made available since 1918 undoubtedly put a new face on the official thesis put forward by the Entente allies. These materials are in many languages; they are voluminous; they are highly intricate, and they can be even dimly understood only by one who spends long days and nights translating, tabulating and comparing. Slowly, however, busy research workers, some with a creed to prove and some moved by a profound desire for the truth only, are winnowing this huge mass of data, drawing from it sound conclusions and bringing their generalizations to bear on the perplexing question of "war guilt." In short, here is a vast field of historical

**The Genesis of the World War*, by Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Knopf.

research infinitely complicated and full of pitfalls. No one should rush into it overnight from the depths of an armchair and begin to dispense pontifical views on the basis of "what he knows"—certainly with no more propriety than he should rush into the matter of "relativity" or the "quantum theory" with a knowledge of mathematics no deeper than the multiplication table.

BARNES'S WAR GUILT THESIS

Professor Barnes is thoroughly familiar with the huge accumulation of diplomatic materials bearing on the origins of the World War and he has mastered the views of the great array of students and publicists who have written on the theme. Having subdued the data of the subject to his mind, Mr. Barnes formulates the problems of war origins in terms that admit of no misunderstanding, and he marches up to them in full panoply under a noon-day sun. His mistakes, however great they may be, are not the mistakes of evasion, confusion and timidity. His procedure, therefore, helps to clear the air. It brings things to a focus on concrete and practical questions of war responsibility. It lays out the battlefield, designates the weapons, and permits combatants to choose their parts with precision.

The thesis which Mr. Barnes develops in this volume is difficult to summarize compactly, but in broad outlines it conforms to the following scheme:

1. One of the prime causes of modern wars is the bitter rivalry of the industrial powers for markets. In this imperialist race, Germany was no more an offender in the years before the World War than England or France. In fact, Germany was outstripping her rivals, as the statistics of trade show, and had more to hope from a continuance of peace than from a war against overwhelming odds.

2. Another prime cause of modern wars, connected with that just mentioned, is the struggle of the powers for territorial empire. Germany in her eagerness to acquire new territories, protectorates and spheres of influence was no more an offender against democracy and self-government than Great Britain, France and Russia. The map of the world, according to

Mr. Barnes, furnishes illumination on this point.

3. A third prime cause of modern wars is the competitive race for supremacy in armaments. In this respect, Mr. Barnes holds, Germany was certainly no greater offender than England, France or Russia. Great Britain would never be content with anything less than unquestioned naval supremacy; if she did not maintain a huge army that was due to her insular position rather than to any antipathy for the use of force. France taught the world conscription and universal military service and was no more eager than Germany to see a reduction of armaments at The Hague conferences. (On this point see S. B. Fay in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1925, page 133.) Germany in attempting to build up a navy was only doing what the United States and other powers with large overseas commerce had done. In the actual race for armed supremacy just before the crisis of 1914 Germany was outstripped by Russia and France and was therefore in a precarious position. The secret correspondence of French and Russian officials on the eve of that crisis revealed the utmost confidence on their part that they were superior to Germany and could achieve victory in a short war.

4. Germany, gaining in trade and outstripped in armaments, had no special reasons for disturbing the world order, whereas French officials, as the documents show, were burning with revenge, and bent on recovering Alsace-Lorraine. At the same time Russia, beaten in her Eastern expansion by Japan and in her southern thrust into Asia by Great Britain, had determined to have the Straits and to secure a water outlet there at all costs.

5. Another prime cause of war is secret alliances and diplomacy. The papers now made public show France under the Poincaré-Delcassé-Paléologue régime and Russia under the Isvolski-Sazonov régime nursing designs on Alsace-Lorraine and the Straits, developing the old secret alliance into a living organism, holding military conferences, preparing for war, using Russian funds to buy French editors, fomenting trouble in the Balkans, and preparing to smash the Central Powers, with the aid of England. The same documents

show the British Government entering into understandings and agreements with France and Russia without informing Parliament, and so committing the country to war that Russia and France were able to operate on the assumption that when the crash came they could count on England's support—as it so turned out.

GERMANY'S RESPONSIBILITY

Warming up to his subject, Mr. Barnes even goes beyond these five points. He declares that "Germany shared in these reprehensible and ominous characteristics of the pre-war system. She was nationalistic, imperialistic, militaristic, ambitious as to naval plans, and given to secret diplomacy." Then he ventures upon comparisons that are in some respects matters of opinion, not statements altogether susceptible of statistical measurement. "But," Mr. Barnes continues, "Germany was not as nationalistic as France, not as imperialistic as Great Britain, France or Russia, not as militaristic as France or Russia, not as devoted to navalism as Great Britain, and not engaged in as dangerous or extensive a system of secret diplomacy as that which France and Russia were developing from 1911 to 1914."

Having discussed the situation on the eve of the crisis of 1914, Mr. Barnes presents his thesis with respect to what may be called "immediate guilt" in the following form: Diplomatic revelations show that the Serbian Government and the Russian Government had been fomenting a Pan-Slavic movement in the Balkans and that the Serbian Government was cognizant of and to some extent implicated in the plans to murder the Archduke and his wife. Austria was justified in taking strong measures against Serbia and Germany gave her a free hand in that enterprise. When, however, it appeared that Austrian operations against Serbia were about to precipitate a general war, Germany drew back frantically and tried to prevent that outcome, expressing a willingness to accept all fair mediatory proposals. But Russia, assured of French support, stimulated the resistance of Serbia and ordered a general mobilization of her armed forces. According to the secret understandings between Russia and French military men, mobiliza-

tion meant war. Germany after trying to stop warlike preparations and receiving no reply from Russia was forced to mobilize and to strike in self-defense. The British Government, though a willing participant in secret conferences with France and Russia, did not know exactly what was going on between her two allies, but had promised aid in case of war. In short the British Government was so bound by commitments to enter the war—no matter how it started and irrespective of the invasion of Belgium—that it could not stay out of the conflict, even if it had been pacifically inclined. To make a long story short, Austria, France and Russia are the guilty parties and Germany stands acquitted of the charge incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. Such is the verdict of this book on the European issue in the case.

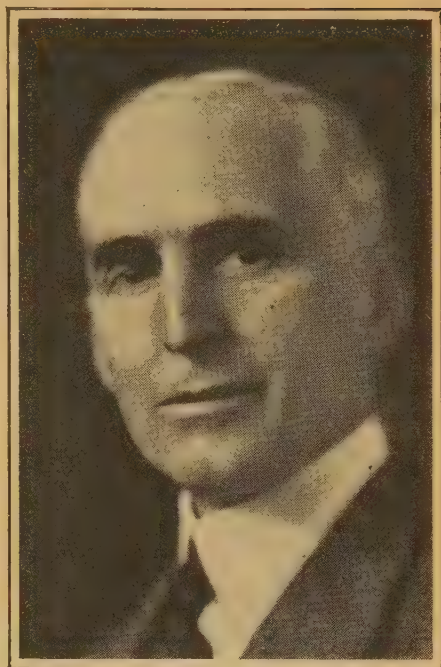
But Mr. Barnes does not rest here. He advances a thesis with respect to the entrance of the United States into the World War. This thesis runs as follows: Public opinion in this country was favorable to Germany as against France in 1870, but antipathy to the militarism of Bismarck, economic competition and English propaganda raised up a great anti-German feeling. When the war broke out in 1914, England violated American rights in utter defiance of the protests filed by the American Government; that defiance was responsible for the German submarine campaign; "Germany," according to Secretary Bryan, "seemed willing to negotiate, but Great Britain refused to consider the proposition"; the American Ambassador, Mr. Page, was neither neutral nor loyal to the instructions of his Government; on the contrary he assisted the British Government in defeating the demands of the State Department in Washington; American bankers and manufacturers made such heavy advances in money and supplies to the Entente Powers that there would have been widespread economic ruin among them if the United States had not entered the war; and the Lusitania was, according to statements of Cunard officials, equipped in 1913 "with high power naval rifles in conformity with England's new policy of arming passenger boats." Finally, President Wilson, according to numerous statements, was never really neutral, but

cleverly worked up the war fever in the United States while pretending to be pacific in his purposes. American participation in the war was therefore effected by official stratagem. By entering the war America prevented a negotiated peace in 1916 and "unnecessarily prolonged the war for two years, with all the resulting savagery, misery and increased economic burdens."

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL THEORY

To pass judgment upon the thesis thus outlined—a structure of ideas built upon innumerable and highly complicated facts—would call for a book about as big as the volume Mr. Barnes has given us. Still the state of historical evidence in the case admits of some categorical verdicts. Before Mr. Barnes' powerful argument, buttressed with relevant facts, the Sunday-school theory of the origins of the war in Europe is utterly demolished. According to that theory, three pure and innocent boys—Russia, France and England—without military guile in their hearts, were suddenly assailed while on the way to Sunday school by two deep-dyed villains—Germany and Austria—who had long been plotting cruel deeds in the dark. No sane person can read the documents which Mr. Barnes uses, analyze the treaties of alliance and notes of understandings, and examine the tables showing the successive increments in armaments in chronological order—no sane person can do this without agreeing with Mr. Barnes in the contention that the "guilt" clause in the Versailles Treaty (to which, by the way, the United States is not officially a party) renders an erroneous verdict. Beyond that, all is debatable, and the debate, whether we like it or not, leads us deep into the constitution of modern societies, historic rivalries, ancient grudges—still deeper into the tough fabric of fate.

Moreover, if there is peril in the attempts to enforce the Versailles theory of responsibility and punitive damages, there is equal danger in the attempt to whitewash the German Kaiser, the Crown Prince, the war party and super-patriots of the Fatherland. It is true that they like to pose now in the garb of injured innocents; their posture of pathos, which presents



CHARLES A. BEARD

such a strange contrast to their words and deeds before 1914, is a part of the game they are playing in Germany to hoist the reactionary party back into power, to restore the Hohenzollerns to their estates and prerogatives, and re-establish government by irresponsible oligarchs. But their record is written plainly in the book of history. Even if they could now come into court with clean hands as regards immediate war guilt—and they cannot—they represented in 1914 just the kind of philosophy, practice and ambition that Mr. Barnes is eager to avoid in the interest of world peace. It is true that a few Americans intriguing for imperial and royal notice at Potsdam before the war—akin in spirit to the Americans engaged in the same business in London—were fond of presenting the Kaiser as the prince of peace, but there were a great many Americans who had formed another picture of the Hohenzollern régime—and not from British or French publicity. They understood the three-class system in Prussia, the military caste system, the operations of the Imperial German Government, the irresponsibility of the Chancellor and the

various devices for baffling and beating down the German democracy. They read the endless speeches of the Kaiser about his divine right, his invincible army, his mailed fist and his true soldiers prepared to shoot down Socialists. They took note of the sabre-rattling Crown Prince, now so meek and mild. They observed no serious attempts of the German Government to break the endless chain of armaments, intrigue and military competition. They were somewhat aware of the terrific pressure brought upon the German Government by capitalists bent upon enlarging their markets and by munition makers in quest of dividends. They had some inkling of the kind of diplomacy which the German imperialists were carrying on with respect to the interests of the United States—some inkling of the business behind the curtain with reference to Samoa, Venezuela, Cuba and the Philippines. They were aware that official opinion in Germany was against the United States in the war with Spain and that the Kaiser was busy fishing in troubled waters to pull out some spoils for himself. If these Americans did not feel at all self-righteous in the circumstances they at least could not ignore the facts.

ANGRY AND PETULANT KAISER

Nor is there in any of the secret documents now available any picture of the Kaiser and his entourage which indicates that their prime consideration in July, 1914, was the maintenance of peace—and let it be remembered that the documents which have come out of Germany have been well edited; Kautsky was not the sole master of ceremonies; we do not know, for example, the secret of the Siebert-Schreiner collection. From the materials before us it is evident that the German Government, egged on by the angry and petulant Kaiser, gave Austria a free hand at the outset of the contest with Serbia. The directors of German affairs did this with full knowledge, as they themselves said, that such an action might precipitate a general war. It is true that they offered the Entente politicians opportunities to preserve the peace and that the Entente politicians did not take advantage of the opportunities. But putting all the new

diplomatic documents together and reading them in the light of the history of the German governing class, it cannot be said that the attitude and procedure of the German Government in the Summer of 1914 really contributed anything substantial to the maintenance of peace.

This is not passing any judgment on the German people. Neither is it making Bethmann-Hollweg or von Jagow any worse than Poincaré, Sazonov, or Sir Edward Grey. It is not taking away from the Governments of France, Great Britain or Russia a single fragment of the awful responsibility that rests upon them for preparing the powder magazine of 1914 and for applying the torch to it. It is not offering any apology for George V, who seems to have been in private capable of much sabre-rattling too. It is simply refusing to regard the war party of Germany and Austria and its supporters among the populace as a pathetic group of injured innocents to whom some kind of an apology is due. This of course will hardly please anybody, for theatregoers, "always on the way between hemlock and monuments," must have their heroes and their villains, white and black. The cold light of history discloses few such actual personages.

With respect to America's entrance into the World War an even stronger caveat should be entered against a too hasty acceptance of the thesis advanced by Mr. Barnes. There is not now available any conclusive evidence to show that President Wilson was cleverly engaged all along in working up the war spirit. It is true that many of the President's friends, writing after America declared war on Germany, attributed that remarkable prescience to him. It is true that there is afloat a story to the effect that early in April, 1916, Mr. Wilson sounded out Champ Clark, Claude Kitchin and H. D. Flood with reference to a plan for taking the country into the war then. But if we take authentic documents and letters written *before* February, 1917, we find strong evidence to show that Mr. Wilson looked rather coldly upon the pretensions of both parties to the European war and attributed the conflict to what he called "many obscure causes—economic and the like." The early letters of Ambassador Page contain complaints against

President Wilson's frosty attitude toward the Entente allies. In a letter written to his brother on Feb. 9, 1917, Franklin K. Lane declared that the President had said to him on Feb. 2 that "he didn't wish to see either side win—for both had been equally indifferent to the rights of neutrals." The story of the meeting with Clark, Flood and Kitchin is at present very shadowy, and until it is made more precise and authentic it must remain in the form of dubious evidence. The sending of Colonel House to Europe and the proposal to Grey about taking the United States into war in February, 1916, were at best tentative. The proposal itself was evidently designed for the purpose of bringing about a fair peace, and the part of the memorandum respecting the entrance of the United States into the war against Germany was made contingent upon German decisions. It was limited by a "probably" and made dependent upon a refusal of Germany to take part in the suggested peace conference.

Finally, it is highly speculative to guess what would have happened if the United States had remained out of the war. Cer-

tainly Mr. Barnes could hardly say that the United States would be in a more favorable position with a triumphant German military party astride Europe than with the Entente allies victorious and at one another's throats. Given a German victory (no matter how the war started) and given the present world position of the United States, does any one not obsessed by pacifist ideas or German sympathies think for a moment that Potsdam would not challenge Washington in full panoply before the lapse of many years? It is decidedly to the interest of the United States to help prevent the rise of any single European power to a dominant position. This carries with it the implication that the American people should not be bamboozled by the racial and national hatreds of Europe, should look with clear eyes on all the evidence in the latest question of war guilt, should refuse to be deceived by Grey, Poincaré, Bethmann-Hollweg or Sazonov; should regard with cold blood all the quarrels of Europe. That seems to be the true upshot of Mr. Barnes's book. Merely to shift heroes and villains will only confuse the issue.

Pashitch, Creator of Modern Yugoslavia

By V. A. DRIGNAKOVITCH

Ex-Attache of the Serbian Delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris

THE name of the octogenarian Nicolas P. Pashitch, former Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia), has been closely associated for the past fifty years not only with Balkan but also with European history. He has played no small part in the rapid modernization of Eastern Europe and its consistent cultural and parliamentary progress as well as in the break-up of the feudal system in Germany, the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Turkey. To the majority of the Serbian people he means as much as Washington and Lincoln mean to an American. There are few men who have met such difficulties and have faced them so courageously and success-

fully. Eleven times Prime Minister, over thirty times a member of the Government, twice President of the municipality of Belgrade, President of the Supreme Council, Senator, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Speaker of the House, President of the Peace Conference in Bucharest and head of his delegation at Paris in 1919, Mr. Pashitch has given four-fifths of his life to his country. He is in the fullest sense of the word the creator of the present Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

With his snow-white long beard he resembles a prophet of biblical times, and he was a prophet indeed when he foresaw, fifty years ago, the union of the

Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. During fifty years of continuous work Pashitch struggled with the task of making the present Kingdom and so proved the theory of Carlyle that "man makes history." An excellent politician and statesman, he was able at critical moments to gain the confidence both of his countrymen and of foreigners for the cause which he defended and which in every instance proved to be the best for his beloved country. Throughout political crises he remained a reformer, governing with the people and for the people, and helping in the organization of modern institutions, so that his country today shows marked progress in all directions of its independent life. His policy of activity, self-sacrifice and indefatigable work for the union of the Yugoslavs has justly earned world-wide fame for him. Not only his political followers but his political opponents say in a difficult political crisis, "No, it cannot be solved without Pashitch."

Nicolas P. Pashitch was born in the town of Zajetchar on Dec. 19, 1845. He graduated from the University of Belgrade in civil engineering, and being the first in the class received a Government scholarship to go to Switzerland, where he completed his studies in engineering. As in those days Switzerland was the chief refuge of political exiles in Europe, Pashitch met, besides many of his countrymen who later played important rôles in the political life of Serbia, the Russian political émigré Bakunin, to whom he became attached, and the two grew to be inseparable friends. Pashitch believed that before a social revolution took place it was essential to bring about national liberation. He was firmly convinced that the support of the brother-Slav nation Russia was necessary for the realization of his ideas. On his return from Switzerland he was nominated Municipal Engineer of the town of Pojarevac, and there he began quietly to consider the ways of bettering conditions in his country, for in those days Serbia was suffering under the rule of a despotic King, Milan Obrenovitch, who by the Constitution of 1869 had absolute power. Convinced that the Constitution was wrong, a group of young Serbians, headed by Svetozar Markovitch, the first

promoter of the Serbian Social-Democratic reform, gathered in the town of Kragujevac and began to issue a newspaper called *Javnost* (Public Opinion). A year later Pashitch himself started a similar publication called *Rad* (Work). Svetozar Markovitch died at the age of 29 and, following his instructions, given just before his death, his party elected Pashitch and Pera Velimirovitch, both civil engineers, as Presidents to carry out the ideas for which he died in the prime of life.

After the Serbo-Turkish war of 1876-1877 Serbia was not a safe place for Pashitch and his political followers. The majority emigrated to Austria, but Pashitch went back to Pojarevac. In November, 1878, he and some other leading members of his party were elected to Parliament. Pashitch was elected member of the Financial Committee, a most important event in view of the fact that he belonged to the parliamentary minority. A month later he issued a manifesto to the people which led to the dissolution of the Parliament. At the new election his party won 44 seats out of 141, and by 134 votes he was elected Speaker of the House. But this election was not sanctioned by the King, who based his objections on rights given to him by the Constitution of 1869.

HEADED RADICAL PARTY

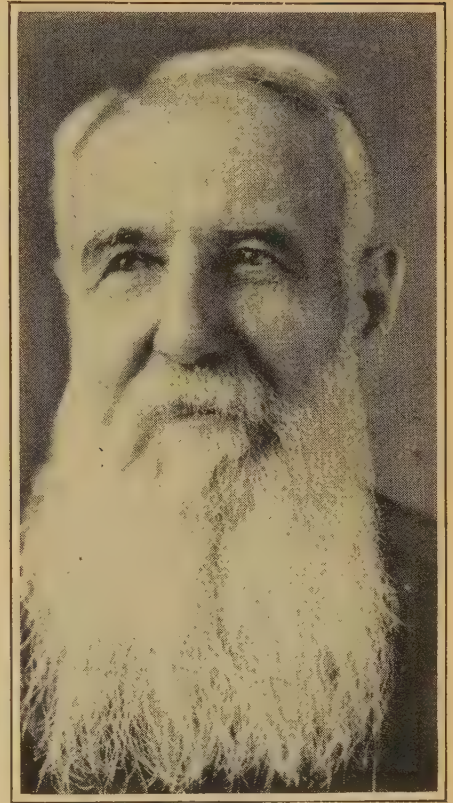
The Club of the National Radical Party was founded in 1880 with Pashitch as President, a position he still holds. In 1881 the newspaper *Samouprava* (Self-Government) appeared for the first time with his name as editor. The same paper is still issued daily and is the semi-official paper of the Government. The Radical Party then had the following program: "Prosperity of the people and internal liberty; national independence; liberation and union of Serbian elements under Turkish and Austrian rule; revision of the Constitution of 1869; reform of the administration of Finance, Judiciary, Public Instruction and the Army; alliances with Balkan States and, first of all, complete accord with Montenegro and Bulgaria; extension of personal and property rights, and, finally, freedom of speech and of the press." In the same year (1881) all the members of the National Radical Party

gathered in the town of Kragujevac in a General Assembly and elected Pashitch President of the Central Committee. From 1880 to 1882, under influence of King Milan, the successive parliamentary elections took place. Each time the result was the same, as the people knew what they wanted and voted for the same Deputies.

The popular movement, however, soon met with difficulties. In 1883 there were bloody collisions between the people of Timoctchka Krajina on one side and the army of the King on the other. The Radical leaders were arrested and brought to trial before the Tribunal of Zajetchar, although the Central Committee of the Radical Party was not to blame for the violence. At a meeting before it happened, they agreed to abide by the decision of the people. Pashitch and a few of his colleagues emigrated to Austria and Rumania and were condemned to death, together with ninety-four members of the Radical Party, and 567 were sentenced to life imprisonment. Pashitch remained in exile two years longer than any of his associates, as the King, while pardoning all radical emigrants, refused clemency in his case. In 1889 the King abdicated and Pashitch triumphantly returned to Serbia. Immediately after this new elections were ordered for the extraordinary National Parliament and the Radicals won nearly every seat (108 out of 117). Pashitch, who represented the town of Belgrade, was unanimously elected the Speaker of the House, and in 1891 became Prime Minister. During this period the new Constitution was adopted, including the modification of laws and the abolition of capital punishment for political crimes.

THE VISIT TO RUSSIA

As Prime Minister, Pashitch accompanied the new King Alexander on a visit to Emperor Alexander of Russia, an important event, which brought Russia and Serbia closer together. Thus the chief aim of the Radical Party was achieved. During the absence of King Alexander and Pashitch, ex-King Milan, who was exiled from Serbia, succeeded by intrigues in bringing about the fall of the Pashitch Government, creating a Regency and ordering new elections. As these elections



Harris & Ewing

NICOLAS PASHITCH
Former Prime Minister of the Kingdom
of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

were conducted by unscrupulous methods, the Radicals were defeated, but by only a few votes. King Alexander by means of a coup d'état annulled the Regency and ordered new elections, in which the Radicals received a large majority. Pashitch became Prime Minister once more.

As the relations between Russia and Serbia demanded an able politician and diplomat, Pashitch was sent to St. Petersburg as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of the Czar, where he stayed until April 4, 1894. He resigned that post as a protest against ex-King Milan, who, in spite of his word of honor not to return to Serbia, came back and brought about the fall of the Radical Government. On Ivan Day, July 20, 1898, an attempt on the life of ex-King Milan failed and he accused Pashitch of it. Against the will of the Prime Minister,

Dr. Vladan Djordjevitch, martial law was proclaimed at the behest of ex-King Milan, and with many other Radicals Pashitch was arrested. After spending nine months in the prison of Pojarevac he was released and brought to trial for the offense of *lèse-majesté* and condemned to five years in prison. As a result of intervention by Russia through her intermediaries, Germany and Austria, Pashitch was pardoned on condition that he leave the country at once, which he did. After ex-King Milan was definitely exiled, Pashitch returned to Serbia. A new Constitution was voted in 1901; the Senate was instituted and Pashitch was elected Senator; subsequently he was elected President of the Supreme Council.

The National Radical Party and Pashitch, as well as the majority of the population of Serbia, were in open opposition to Alexander, the last King of the Obrenovitch Dynasty, who with the Queen, Draga, was killed in the coup d'état of May 29, 1903. Neither Pashitch nor the National Radical Party was involved in this coup d'état, which was purely a military conspiracy. Nevertheless Pashitch considered that this tragic event was for the good of the Serbian people. Through his political ability the provisional Government was discredited and under his Presidency a new Government was formed in which all political parties were represented. These events brought to the Serbian throne the exiled Prince Peter Karadjordjevitch, who proved to be a broadminded, democratic and exceedingly beloved king. Pashitch, having the whole support of the King, continued without opposition, and under far better circumstances than those he had encountered under King Milan, to accomplish his aims, which were: to organize the State on a Parliamentary basis and to revive the Yugoslav civilization which had flourished before the fall of the Serbian Empire (battle of Kossovo, 1389) and the Republic of Ragusa. Progress made shortly after the coup d'état was so noticeable that it attracted the attention of the Serbs under Austria and Turkey and as a result pressure from both these countries on Serbia began to tighten.

In 1908, hoping that the Serbians would

lose their heads in the conflict with her, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and tried to provoke a war. But the Serbs weathered the crisis, thanks to the genius of Pashitch and his wise policies, which at that time were carried out by one of his ablest collaborators, Dr. Milovan Milovanovitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Not only did the Serbs fail to fall in the well-prepared Austrian net, but they answered the Austrian provocations with the Custom War of 1908, which was so cleverly manipulated that it resulted in final victory for Serbia in the shape of the commercial treaty with her enemy. This may be called Serbia's first victory over Austria-Hungary. Turkey also noticed the growing prestige of Serbia and other Balkan States, and fearing intervention suddenly decided to change her policy of massacring Christians. It is unnecessary to write here about the slaughter of innocent Christians in Turkey before 1912. The whole world, including the United States, protested and tried to stop it, but without any marked success. The young Balkan States tolerated the destructive work of Turkey for a long time, but there is a limit to everything, and under the guidance of Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece formed the Balkan Alliance of 1912-1913 which made war against Turkey. The Turks were defeated and pursued to the gates of Constantinople. During that period Nicolas Pashitch was the Prime Minister of Serbia.

BULGARIAN ATTACK QUELLED

This unforeseen victory of the Cross over the Crescent naturally added to the prestige of Serbia. Her Northern neighbor Austria, becoming jealous and afraid, succeeded in exciting Bulgarian aspirations, which, considering that the Bulgarian throne was occupied by King Ferdinand of Coburg-Gotha, an Austrian, was not difficult.

Critical days came for the Balkan alliance. When it came to dividing the liberated territory all attempts to provoke the Serbian Army against their brothers-at-arms, the Bulgarians, were in vain, as Pashitch, whose orders were final, wanted a peaceful settlement. So it was agreed that the disputed questions should be submitted to Czar Nicholas II. While the

delegates of both countries were on their way to St. Petersburg the Bulgarians became impatient, and fearing that the decision of the Czar might not be in their favor, attacked Serbia on the entire front. The outcome of that attack is well known. The Bulgarians were defeated in the Battle of Bregalnitz in the Summer of 1913. In this case, as always, Pashitch showed how much he cared for peace and also how correctly he had foreseen events. If he had acted less wisely in this crisis Balkan and perhaps European history would have taken another direction.

AUSTRIA'S ULTIMATUM

After the assassination of Sarajevo in 1914, which followed Austria's attempt to provoke war with Serbia, Pashitch tried in every way to maintain peace, and when the famous ultimatum of Austria arrived, so humiliating, threatening and arrogant that no country on earth could accept it, Pashitch saw that war was inevitable. It is said that he wept on this occasion, and we must believe it, because he saw that the country which he loved was exhausted by the previous wars. His responsibility was great, for he wanted peace and Austria wanted war.

During the entire World War Pashitch was Prime Minister, and besides dealing with many difficult problems of the Government, came in contact with the Yugoslav committee (founded in Rome in 1915), which was composed of prominent men of Serb, Croat and Slovene origin under the rule of Austria-Hungary, whose aim was a union with Serbia. With the representatives of the Yugoslav Committee he signed an agreement in August, 1916, known as the "Declaration of Corfu," which showed a definite way of realizing the national and territorial aspirations of Serbia. As head of the Serbian delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 Pashitch succeeded in realizing nearly all Serbia's territorial aspirations included in the Declaration of Corfu, and in 1921, as Prime Minister, he ratified the Constitution of the independent Government. After the treaties of peace were signed at Versailles, Trianon and Sèvres, with the help of his able collaborators, Vessnitch, Nickolitch, Dr. Milovanovitch

and Trifkovitch of the old school, and Nintchitch, Jankovitch, Markovitch and Maximovitch of the new generation, Pashitch consolidated the internal and foreign policy of his country and maintained amicable relations with neighboring and other States, while cooperating with the newly created Little Entente. He also undertook active membership in the League of Nations, the signing of commercial treaties with neighboring States, Agrarian reform, improvement of hygienic conditions, the opening of three universities and thousands of schools, the erection of many hospitals, the institution of the National Mortgage Bank and the establishment of credit for the farmers, the improvement of the railroads, highways and communications, and the reconstruction of the ports and organization of the mercantile marine.

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is the only State in Eastern Europe where after the war there was no coup d'état and where Parliament functions as it should. Croatian opposition to Pashitch ceased in March, 1925, with the famous declaration of Pavle Raditch, Vice President of the Croatian Peasant Party, who declared in Parliament that the Croats abandoned their separatist aspirations, acknowledged the Yugoslav Government and accepted the Constitution. In July of that year Stephan Raditch, President of the Croatian Peasant Party, signed an agreement with the National Radical Party for the formation of a coalition Government, which is still in power. The recent antagonism between the National Radical and Croatian Peasant parties was based on the fear of the Croats that they would lose their Croatian name, their alphabet (Serbs and Croats speak the same language, but the Serbs use Cyrillic and the Croats Latin letters for writing) and the right to practice the Roman Catholic religion. Since the agreement was signed their fears have been dissipated, but dissension has arisen between the advocates of national and federal forms of government.

All these events which have linked Pashitch's name with Yugoslavia naturally lent significance to the celebration of his eightieth birthday, which should have been held in December last, but which had to be postponed until June 22, 1926.

Mussolini, the Idol of Italy

By ROSELLE MERCIER MONTGOMERY

A Magazine Writer Who Has Recently Studied Italian Conditions

WHEN I came to Italy my attitude toward Mussolini was a question mark. I had, of course, heard and read much about him, both for and against, and I had the traditional American prejudice against dictators. I was disposed to question even the blessings which his benevolent despotism was alleged to have conferred upon Italy. I found it hard to believe that any sound fruit could come from the marriage of benevolence with despotism. I wondered if anything obtained by the sacrifice of independence and self-government were not too dearly bought. Hence my question mark—indeed, my several question marks. But now that I have been five months in Italy, and now that I have met Mussolini, my interrogation points have all become exclamation points—of wonder! of admiration!! of endorsement!!!

Here in Italy one cannot escape becoming infected by the enthusiasm of the Italians themselves for *Il Duce* (the leader), as Mussolini is called. That this affection is spontaneous, deep and genuine is doubted only by those who have not been in Italy. It is alleged by the anti-Mussolini propagandists that much of the cheering for him is compulsory, that Italians find it unhealthy to do anything else. But no one, I think, could believe that who happened to be in Italy to witness the solemn rejoicing of the Italian people on the occasion of the seventh birthday of Fascismo on March 25, 1926. And certainly no one could doubt the sincerity of Italy's wild consternation at the madwoman's attempt on Mussolini's life, a few days later, and of the people's joy at his escape from death. It is the inescapable conclusion of even the casual tourist that Mussolini is the idol of his countrymen, and the longer one remains the more certain one becomes of that. His picture confronts one everywhere. "*Viva Il Fascismo!*" "*Viva Mussolini!*" leap at one from blank walls all over Italy. His name is on every tongue and it is spoken

as Americans speak the name of George Washington. The Fascist uniform is everywhere in evidence; passersby reverently and respectfully give its wearers the Roman salute, that upward and outward gesture of the right arm which symbolizes the new Italy. The Fascist song, heard on every side, stirs the Italians as "Dixie" stirs Southerners in the United States.

The longer one remains in Italy, too, the more one is able to realize the reasons for Mussolini's popularity and to understand better all that he has done and is doing for his people, how he has penetrated into every recess of Italian life, leavening, changing and uplifting it. Naturally, the tourists notice first the things that affect their comfort and happiness, and I have yet to meet any traveler who is not enthusiastic over the improved conditions of travel which the Fascist régime has wrought in Italy. In fact, if the tourist vote were allowed to count, Mussolini would be perpetually in power. Those who knew Italy in pre-Mussolini days are the greatest enthusiasts. They observe that Italian cities are cleaner, less odorous, better lighted; that beggars are less numerous and street peddlers less pestiferous; that public conveyances in cities have to be metered; and that in country districts where the horse-driven *carozza* is still used, there is a fixed rate printed on a card which must be shown in case of any dispute. Moreover, the Fascist patrolmen are on duty everywhere to see that travelers are not overcharged or ill-treated. In short, the whole business of getting about in Italy has been enormously improved and simplified.

The most popular gesture which Mussolini has made, from the standpoint of the tourist, is the spectacular improvement in the train service. In the old days, especially in the post-war days, when the Soviets had Italy in their power and at their mercy, and until Mussolini and the Fascists came to her rescue and drove them out, Italian trains were likely to arrive and de-

part at almost any time except that specified on the time table. Sometimes they did not depart at all, or, if they did, a strike was declared and the train abandoned en route. Passengers could not notify those awaiting them, because, like as not, the telegraphers were striking, too. Baggage and parcel post packages were dispatched with the daring of a gambler or the optimism of a Pollyanna. But Mussolini, when he came into power, put an end to all that. He swept the supernumeraries, limpets, grafters and idlers out of all public service, no matter who they were or what positions they held. From those he retained, he demanded that unheard-of thing in Italian bureaucracy—a day's work for a day's pay. As a consequence of these methods, the railroads last year showed a sizable surplus instead of the usual deficit of Government-operated public utilities. Today trains in Italy arrive and depart on time. Moreover, the compartments are clean, the windows washed, the brasses polished and the attendants uniformed, competent and polite. Baggage can now be registered (or checked, as we say in America), and it arrives promptly and intact. It is said that Mussolini decided to find out what happened to baggage en route, so he put into effect a whimsical notion to conceal detectives inside certain trunks. Employes who picked those trunks to pry open found in them husky members of the Fascisti militia, well supplied with arms and disposed to use them. After several such occurrences, the pretty custom of pilfering the trunks of the passengers fell into disuse.

These outward and visible signs, so easily and gladly perceived by every foreign tourist, are indeed only symptomatic of an inward and spiritual grace which can be as easily perceived by those who linger longer in the Italy of Mussolini. One is conscious somehow of a sureness of purpose and a deep contentment that one misses in other countries today. Mussolini has not only saved Italy from the degradation and disorder of Bolshevism, but he has pointed out to her a definite goal and has set her feet upon the path of attainment. Of all the rulers that Italy has had in ancient or modern times he is the only one who has actually touched the daily life of the people themselves or

made any real change in their thinking. Even the change from paganism to Christianity did not alter very greatly the tenor of Italian peasant life; for the virgin goddess Minerva it was easy to substitute the Hebrew Virgin as their special protecting deity; easy to turn from the lesser pagan deities to the saints. The early Christian churches were built on the sites of the ancient temples and the rites thereof were very largely retained, though with a changed symbolism. Life flowed on the same for the people, no matter who were their rulers, or to whom they said their prayers. They bargained, loved and quarreled as before; they built their houses, made their tools, tilled their fields and pruned their vines and olive trees in the same old way.

THE NEW POWER

Here, however, is a new power, called by the name of neither King nor Pope, and infringing upon the prerogatives of neither, but demanding indeed from the people respect and homage for both; a power forceful enough to command their attention; a power strong enough to enforce their obedience; a power who says to them: "The old ways, the old tools, will not do for the new Italy; you must discard them. Your country has been great in the past; that must make you proud, but it must not content you. You must make her great in the future. You must find new ways to till your fields in order to provide for the children of tomorrow. We have always been prolific; we shall continue to be so, but the children of the future must eat better food, live in cleaner houses and have better schools. You must provide them. To this great end you must forget all class distinctions, all trade wars, all strikes. You must be for Italy first, for yourselves afterward. For Italy you must be sober, industrious, honest. You must not idle your time away in frivolity; it is your country's time. You must be sowers, not wasters; builders, not wreckers. You must study your country's needs; you must make her waste places bloom like the rose!"

This, in effect, is what Mussolini says to his people—and what he says the Fascisti stand ready to see carried out. In consequence, there are no strikes in Italy to-

day. Mussolini has put into operation a system of industrial syndicates, which take care of all the differences between capital and labor, employes and employed, regulates wages, profit-sharing, pensions and insurance—apparently to the satisfaction of all concerned. Certainly everybody in Italy is busy today and everybody seems happy. The roads are being improved everywhere (and mention has already been made of the improvement in the railroads). New methods of agriculture are being studied and demonstrated to the farmers; vast plains that were considered waste land have been reclaimed and turned into wheat fields. The shipping industry is being nurtured and is prospering; manufacturing is being stimulated. New schools are being built and better teachers are being trained to teach them. The natural resources and beauties of Italy are being cultivated; art and music are being revived, with the aim to make Italy once more supreme in both. The various "cures," the hot springs and hot mud baths for which Italy is so famous, are being put into better condition and made available to a greater number of people. Mussolini's recent trip to Tripoli was undertaken in order to foster national territorial consciousness, to turn the eyes of his people to their colonies as a source of food for the new and better babies, as well as a refuge for Italy's surplus population. The great scheme to restore and preserve the grandeur of ancient Rome which has just been inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies is calculated to act as a spur to national pride—to make the Italians themselves remember and emulate their past greatness.

THE DICTATOR'S FEARLESSNESS

These are only a few of the directions that the activities of Mussolini are taking today in addition to his regular work of governing, laying cornerstones, parading and speechmaking. Is it impossible for

one man to do so much and do it well? The answer to that is that he does it and does it so well that almost any day he could get a job as efficiency expert in any one of the activities which engage his attention, and as a speaker would be fought for by lecture bureaus. As for ruling, he is a ruler who rules! Many people are, of course, troubled about the effect of all this work and worry upon his health, and many more are in dread of a new and successful attempt upon his life. Naturally he has many enemies, the three B's for instance, whom he has banished from Italy—Bolsheviks, brigands and Black Handers. They are all busy in their efforts to injure him by plotting his downfall and death and by circulating propaganda against him, especially in America.

Mussolini is utterly fearless physically (he received a hundred wounds in the World War), so that he exposes himself constantly to the danger of assassination. Consequently a good many people who are willing to concede that he has made a success of Fascismo himself, are fearful of a great débâcle if he should break down or die. Such people do not, however, take into sufficient account the great Fascist force which he organized, has built up and strengthened, which contains today the flower of Italy's manhood, the vast, volunteer force which "asks nothing of any one and knows how to die daily for its country"; whose "holy call is to save the great mother, Italy, and to give her strength and purity." It is to them that Mussolini looks to carry on his work, in them that I feel the assurance of its permanence lies. They may not all be quite of his calibre, but among them there is surely one to take up the torch when it drops from his hand.

Although I have never spoken a word to him nor seen him, I have met him in the lives of his people and in his influence upon Italy, and so I am ready to shout with the Italians, "Long live Mussolini!"

The Sacred Cow's Importance in Indian Life

By STEPHEN GANUGAPATI KRISHNAYYA

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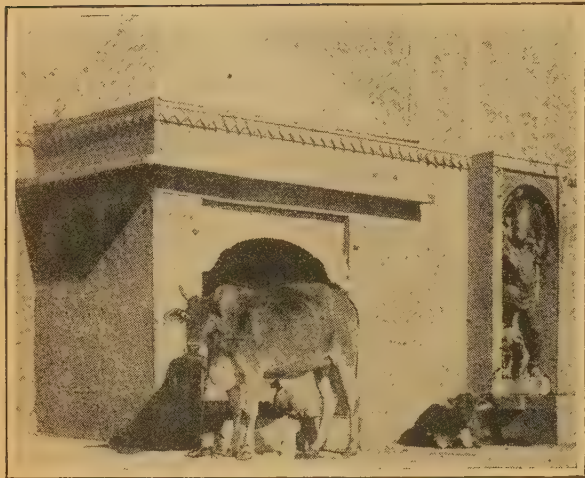
THE cow is one of the more obvious causes of friction between the Hindus and the Moslems. The Hindus regard her almost as dear as life, whereas the Mohammedans not only eat beef but also sacrifice cows at their festival of Bakrid. This disregard of Hindu sentiment sometimes results in a riot. All this would seem ridiculous to the Occidental who is sufficiently emancipated to imagine that all that exists, exists solely for man's exploitation and enjoyment. Therefore, before we proceed much further it may be desirable to explain the mental attitude involved in this regard for the animal.

Let us imagine that a Hindu, a Chinese and an American found themselves one bright Spring morning before the great Niagara Falls. The Hindu, representing the Orient, which claims to be the birthplace of all the living religions of the world, would see the magnificent waterfall as a manifestation of God and would declare: "What a glorious spectacle! And if this is so great and glorious, how much more so must be He who made it all!" So saying, he would bow down in worship and adoration. The Chinese, imbued with the Confucian emphasis on ethics and the family, and fascinated by that beautiful phenomenon of nature, would be heard saying: "What exquisite scenery! I must go and call my comrades and kinsfolk so that they, too, may enjoy this transporting vision." So saying, he would fetch his family and friends and share with them his joy and appreciation. Then would come the scientific American, in whom are heightened the inventive and utilitarian tendencies of the West. Standing before the tremendous torrents of the everlasting falls, he would arouse his companions, the one from his contemplative calm, and the

other from his artistic appreciation, exclaiming, "Gee, whiz! What a waste of energy!"

If we grant these differences of emphasis, the idea of cow-protection needs to be explained from the Hindu point of view. Mahatma Gandhi, the great champion of Hindu-Moslem unity, makes the following statement: "I myself respect the cow, that is, I look upon her with affectionate reverence. The cow is the protector of India, because it being an agricultural country is dependent upon the cow's progeny. She is a most useful animal in hundreds of ways." To get its full significance one would have to know the rôle that the cow plays in the life of India. Many of the functions performed in America by gas, steam and electricity are performed in India by oxen. In addition, they often take the place of horses. Oxen plough the fields, draw carts (passenger and freight), grind mortar, cement and oil seed. Cow's milk, apart from its ordinary use, is converted into curds, buttermilk and ghee, articles of food used daily in every Indian home. The dung is used to great advantage by the farmer and the housewife. Whereas the cow is so indispensable to a settled people, her value was very much greater to the Aryans during the process of migration and colonization. One does not adequately realize the vital importance of the cow until one has been in India.

The cow is the great giver and sustainer of life, and in India, this entitles her to reverential treatment. Giving is one of the outstanding attributes of Deity. It is in His nature to give. Why is the River Ganges sacred? Because it sustains life, and is responsible for the fertility of the plains through which it flows—one of the most productive and thickly populated regions in the world. The uneven distribu-



At the shrine of a Hindu god

tion of rainfall, and the uncertainty of the monsoons, increase the dependence of the people upon the rivers for their life and livelihood. Why was the person of a *guru* (teacher) inviolable? Because he was the giver of knowledge. *Guru bhakti* (devotion to teacher) came second only to *Diva bhakti* (devotion to God). The path to greatness and divinity, therefore, lay through service and usefulness.

The Hindus early realized that religion was one of the most powerful motives in life and conduct. They found that the doing of certain things that were intrinsically necessary and desirable could be best assured if a religious sanction were obtained for their performance. And so, for example, they went about ascribing religious motives for sanitary and hygienic operations, and imposing penalties for their non-observance. For that reason religion controls and directs so much of the life of the Hindu. The orthodox Hindu bathes religiously before every meal. He never enters the kitchen or the dining room in his street clothes. There are certain days set apart for bathing in the sea or the river. The Hindu thinks he is thus conforming to the dictates of his religion. Superstition? Even so, who can question its value and desirability?

Long pilgrimages are made to holy rivers and sacred shrines, in the hope, per-

haps, of laying up merit in the world to come, or to perform penance for past sins or it may be to have them washed away. The originators of the custom found that that was one of the very few ways by which Hindus could be persuaded to leave their homes for travel, to meet people of other sections of that vast land and to get acquainted with their thoughts and customs. Since the people were not particularly keen about real estate, commerce or the exploitation of natural resources, religion was almost the only argument that could be pressed into service to provide a motive for extensive travel and intercourse. The thinking Hindu may be trusted to distinguish between religion, sociology and physiology and to judge institutions on their intrinsic worth. But the ancient seers had to find a way to get the indiscriminating and unsophisticated masses to abide by principles that would make for health, travel, sanitation and education. The Mosaic code deals more or less in the same way with a similar situation. These wise men believed that religion was made for man, and not man for religion. With them it was a way of life. Strangely pragmatic, they made religion serve the needs of the people.

THE NEED OF AGRICULTURE

The Indian sages were not slow to recognize that life depended upon agriculture, and therefore, that agriculture should be given prime importance. We hear in many other parts of the world the cry, "Back to the land!" Farms are being neglected; cities are becoming overcrowded; the evils of industrialization are increasingly evident. The stability of the country, which is dependent upon the rural classes, a nation's backbone, is seriously threatened. In recognition of the serious dependence of the people upon agriculture, an old Indian legend has it that the earth is supported on one horn of an ox. Even today over 87 per cent. of India's three hundred and twenty millions live on

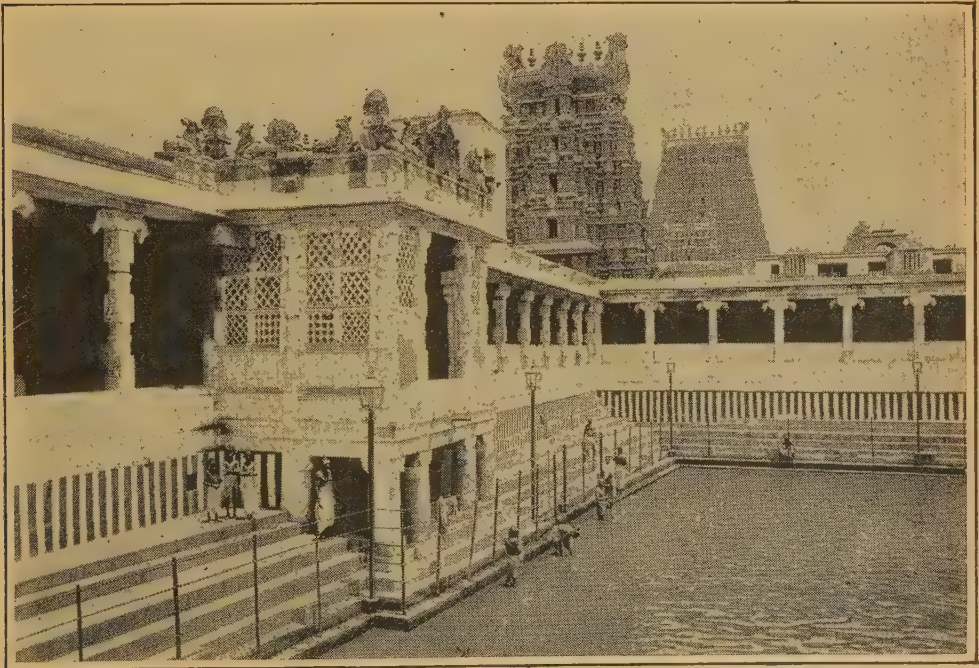
the land. And since in India farming requires the aid of the bovine species, it was a matter of tremendous importance that the cow should be protected from the butcher's knife. How best could that be done? By regarding cow-protection as a religious duty.

There is yet another and a deeper aspect. "Cow-protection," says the Indian apostle of non-violence, "means brotherhood between man and beast." "*Ahimsa*," the spirit of love and innocence, extends to a lower animal as it does to humans." This is a recognition of the great Hindu belief in the unity of life, and therefore of our kinship with all living things. Life is a unity, as is intelligence, and there are different levels of life as there are different levels of intelligence. The astounding discoveries of the Indian scientist, Jagadis Chandra Bose, now lecturing before British and Continental universities, are along this line. He has shown that plants have a brain and nervous system somewhat similar to that of the lower animals. Two religions, Buddhism and Jainism, have made *Ahimsa*

(non-cruelty to life) one of their chief tenets. Thinkers believe that a richer meaning is given to life, and a wider horizon, intellectual, moral and emotional, is made possible by this willingness to recognize animals other than man as entitled to our affectionate and reverent consideration. This is the idea that Hindus seek to express through their regard for the cow. Because of her great value and her genuine likableness, the cow came to stand as representative of the whole animal world. As Gandhi puts it, "Apart from its religious sanctity, it is an ennobling creed."

SIGNS OF HINDU-MOSLEM ACCORD

If that is so, how can Hindu-Moslem relations ever be amicable? Several signs of a hopeful nature have been in evidence in spite of the sporadic riots, of which so much has been made. These religious communities are really anxious to have peace and unity. For instance, the Muslim League, under the presidency of Hakimji Ajmal Khan, carried a cow-protection resolution not many years ago. The great



Hindu temple at Madurai

Moslem scholar explained that neither the written tenets of the Mohammedan religion nor tradition enjoined the slaughter of cows, for in Turkey, Egypt, Persia and Syria, where a cow might be sacrificed without the least offense to any one, a sheep is preferred. It is only natural to expect, however, that it will take years and years before such facts and discoveries can filter down to the illiterate masses. In many places the Mohammedans have been willing to concede to the request that the sacrifice of cows be not performed before the Hindus or the Hindu Temples. Mian Chhotani, a Moslem of great distinction, saved hundreds of cows in Bombay alone during a recent *Bakrid* (a Mohammedan festival), and presented them to the grateful Hindus. Shaukat Ali and Mohame Ali—known in India as the Ali Brothers—leaders of the Moslems of India and devoted friends and followers of the Mahatma, some time ago gave up the use of beef in their house. One can hardly ask for more than that.

Coming to the Hindu side of the difficulty we find that not many of them consider cow-worship as a really great factor in the friction between the two religions. They are painfully conscious of other forces tending to keep them apart. Be that as it may, so far as the cow is concerned, the following quotation from Mahatma Gandhi may be taken as the Hindu solution of the problem:

I yield to none in my regard for the cow.
 * * *. That ability [to protect the cow] can be derived from body force or soul force. To attempt cow-protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism, and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow-protection.
 * * *. But just as I respect the cow, so do I respect my fellow-men. * * *. Am I, then, to fight or kill a Mohammedan in order to save a cow? In doing so I would become an enemy of the cow as well as of the Mohammedan. Therefore, the only method I know of protecting the cow is that I should approach my Mohammedan brother and urge him for the sake of the country to join me in protecting her. If he will not listen to me, I should let the cow go, for the simple reason that the matter is beyond my power. If I were too overfull of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her, but not take my

brother's. This, I hold, is the law of our religion.

RIOTS NOT NECESSARILY RACIAL

It may be worth while pointing out also that just because the rioters are composed of a few Hindus and a few Moslems it does not make a Hindu-Moslem riot. Riots occur only in cities where live 7 per cent. of India's population. Millions and millions of followers of these two great religions dissociate themselves from those fanatics and rowdies and are heartily ashamed of them. It should be possible to imagine that some individuals, no matter what their color or their creed, are ruthless, unreasonable, not interested in public peace and living still on the brute level of settling their disputes by a resort to force. India would gladly forego both their presence and their murderous services. But, on the other hand, if these riots should be taken as an indication of any incapacity, it is the incapacity of the Government to function, in the maintaining of peace and order, its boasted *raison d'être*, as demonstrated a few months ago when Calcutta fell into the hands of a riotous mob and the General Post Office in the heart of the city was held up in broad daylight.

The situation is by no means hopeless. The fact that the Hindus and the Moslems have been living together more or less in peace these many centuries is proof of that. An unhampered opportunity to reconcile their differences in a manner that will meet the peculiar needs of the people will help materially toward assuring permanent peace and understanding. Besides, liberalizing forces are at work in India as they are elsewhere. Science is making headway, and fanaticism and fundamentalism are giving way to reason and light. It must be remembered also that an ancient people, numbering one-fifth of the human race, living in an area that would include all Europe, minus Russia, scattered in seven hundred and fifty thousand villages, and having a sedentary temperament, must move slowly, especially if they are not to sacrifice some of the fine values of their not inglorious heritage for an indigestible mess of modern pottage.

Shanghai: A City Ruled by Five Nations

By JAMES PORTER DAVIS

Formerly Administrative Consul in the American Consulate General
at Shanghai, China

FOR the international business man Shanghai is a great shipping and industrial centre, the gateway for the inward and outward trade of 200,000,000 people, the seat of cotton and cigarette factories, flour mills, match factories, shipyards, banks, trading and shipping companies—in a remarkably accurate sense, the New York of China. But Shanghai presents another interesting and important aspect, for here we find a remarkable experiment in international cooperative government, already crowned with over half a century of striking success. The International Settlement of Shanghai is an organized city-State in practical operation and with almost all the national component groups that a true world-State would have. This city-State is, moreover, growing and prospering at a rate equaled by few other communities in the world.

The urban area known as Shanghai includes the International Settlement, a city of some 800,000 people in itself, which is the centre of the commerce, finance, industry and population for the whole region, and four other distinct municipalities, the French Concession and the three Chinese cities consisting of the old walled city, Chapei and Pootung. These five sections form one city built around a right-angle bend in the Whangpoo River about eleven miles from its juncture with the Yangtze at Woosung. The harbor of Shanghai extends along the river front of all these divisions. It is under the direct control of the Chinese Maritime Customs. The Chinese Maritime Customs, with its joint Chinese and foreign control, is itself a fine example of the beneficent effects of cooperation, and has perhaps been the most important factor in the preservation of the Chinese Government. The customs, municipal, consular and Chinese authorities are in constant cooperation as to the administration and development of Shanghai Harbor, particularly through the internation-

ally constituted Whangpoo Conservancy Board.

The International Settlement at Shanghai had its beginning when the port was forcibly entered and opened for trade in 1844 by the British in accordance with their Treaty of Nanking concluded in 1842. The trading and residential rights granted by this treaty were extended by various other treaties and by force of custom to all foreigners. The British Consul and the Tao-tai, or local Chinese prefect, drew up an agreement setting aside a low, flat area between two creeks and along the Whangpoo, the land within this area to be leased to the British merchants for residence and trade. Applications for such land had to come through the Consul. This agreement, setting forth the method of acquisition and the rules for the use of such land, was the embryo of the present Land Regulations of Shanghai, which, as confirmed and extended by force of custom, are the basis for the powers of the Shanghai municipality.

American and French merchants soon joined the British at Shanghai. From the first the Americans contended that they were entitled to obtain land directly through their Consul in any area opened for other foreigners. Here we have the "Open Door" policy, the key to America's traditional position in the Orient. The British authorities did not object to the coming in of Americans, but held that they should obtain leases through the British Consul and otherwise conform with the procedure established for British subjects. After an interesting controversy, at one stage of which the American Consul almost declared war on China single-handed, the British Foreign Office upheld the American contention, and thus settled the future of Shanghai as an international settlement rather than a group of concessions, each under its own national control. It is true that the concession idea persisted for some years. The French obtained the area lying

between the British and the native cities, at one time offered, so the story goes, to the American Consul for an American settlement. Later, the district north of Soochow Creek, still called Hongkew, was called the American Settlement and the American Consul was looked to for the maintenance of order therein—no easy task in those days when the place was always full of seafaring men and other adventurous and turbulent spirits.

The French concession has developed independently, though it is also a true international settlement, since the other foreigners hold land and houses and share in its government on the same basis as Frenchmen. The acts of the municipality are, however, subject to the approval of the French Consul, and a majority of the Municipal Council is always French. Apart from this most of what is said about the international settlement applies also in a general way to the French concession. The authorities of the two always work in close and harmonious cooperation.

* FIRST MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

The unwisdom of a series of concessions was early apparent, as was the necessity of an organized municipal government to take over the work done at first by volunteer committees. In 1863 the British and Americans joined in the election of a Municipal Council for the International Settlement which thus became and has since remained practically a self-governing entity. Though formed by British and Americans, the settlement has always been truly international, admitting all foreigners alike to residence and share in the government. Chinese have been admitted as residents, but have not shared in the Municipal Government.

The written basis for the authority of the Shanghai Municipal Government is in the various treaties granting extraterritorial and trading rights to foreigners in China, and in certain other agreements between China and foreign powers, particularly the Shanghai Land Regulations, which were originally drawn up in 1854 by the Taotai and the British and American Consuls at Shanghai. These regulations have been several times revised and expanded, and under their authority a num-

ber of by-laws have been passed by the ratepayers. The Land Regulations and by-laws form the municipal code of Shanghai, governing such matters as traffic, sanitation, building, taxes and licenses and the other usual subjects of municipal regulations. They have been given the validity of law as to their nationals by the various treaty powers and are enforced by the courts presently to be described.

The government of the International Settlement consists of (1) the ratepayers (that is, the municipal taxpayers); (2) the Municipal Council, elected annually by the ratepayers; (3) the various executive departments under and answerable to the Municipal Council; (4) the Consular body, and (5) the courts, Consular and mixed. The ratepayers are at once the electorate and the primary legislative body. The eligible members include all foreign owners or renters of property in the settlement with an annual rental of more than 50 taels (about \$35). Absentees are allowed to vote by proxy. The preponderance of British property in the settlement places the British in a great majority in this body, though the Americans and Japanese also constitute important groups. It is one of the triumphs of the Anglo-Saxon genius for government that the British and Americans at Shanghai have worked together so long and so well in this body and in the Council selected by it, and it is a tribute to the Japanese, who have in recent years become much the largest foreign colony at Shanghai, to recall the admirable spirit in which they have entered into the common work.

The ratepayers meet annually, and on call when the emergency requires. Their principal business is to elect from among themselves the Municipal Council of nine members, which administers the affairs of the city; to receive and approve the reports of the outgoing Council; to adopt with or without alterations the municipal budget proposed by the old Council, now amounting to about \$7,500,000 annually; to propose and pass new by-laws or amendments to the Land Regulations, which acquire the force of law after approval by the various powers, and in general to legislate upon the affairs of the municipality, having regard to its basic powers. It is apparent that this body enjoys consider-



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A street in the old section of Shanghai

able authority. In practice its work has been largely perfunctory in recent years, but only because of the adequate and smoothly functioning regulations and organization built up in the past. It is no secret that considerable diplomacy is employed at times to keep this potentially explosive body within discreet bounds.

The Chinese ratepayers in the Settlement also meet annually for discussion of municipal problems affecting them, and elect a Chinese Advisory Committee to confer and cooperate with the Shanghai Municipal Council. Some of the most prominent and important Chinese citizens of Shanghai are on this committee, and though it is without actual authority, its opinions and its help are sure to be increasingly important as the problems of the Greater Shanghai become more and more urgent.

BRITISH MAJORITY ON COUNCIL

The Municipal Council of nine members, which, as already explained, is the executive and administrative agent of the mu-

nicipality, has always had a majority of British members, usually with two or three Americans, one or two of other European nationality; and recently one Japanese. The Chairman is virtually the Mayor. He is also civil commandant of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps. He enjoys great local prestige, as well as the privilege of contributing most of his time and energies to the common weal. Usually British, the Chairman has four times been American. Recently the position was held by Stirling Fessenden of the famous Maine family, dean of the American bar at Shanghai. The Council is organized into committees on the various municipal activities—police and fire department, public works department, public health, finance, municipal electricity department, and so forth, and each of these committees devotes much time and labor to its respective field. Under the Council is a high-salaried executive secretary and the usual staffs to conduct the routine administrative work of the city. Each of the municipal departments has its own technical staff of European experts.

All the foreign employes of the Shanghai municipality are well paid and are given long home leaves with salary and expenses every five years. They are retired on a generous pension after the required term of service. These conditions make for efficiency, stability and satisfaction in the municipal service.

The Police Department, under a former British army officer with years of training in Shanghai police work, employs fifty or more foreigners, several hundred Sikhs obtained from the Indian army and some twelve hundred Chinese policemen. It is one of the unforgettable sights of Shanghai to see the Sikhs, tall, powerful, black-bearded and imperturbable, directing the streams of automobiles, rickshaws, wheelbarrows and pedestrians, occasionally breaking the head of some luckless coolie who has parked his rickshaw in the wrong place, or hauling a sneak-thief to jail with a tatterdemalion mob of the idle curious at his heels. The organization and accomplishments of the Police Department are extraordinarily good, especially when one considers the enormous difficulties under which it works. It is, of course, in constant touch with the police of the French concession and of the neighboring Chinese cities, and besides preserving order in the settlement makes many clever captures of criminals wanted in those places.

Efficiency marks all the other departments of the Municipal Government. The Department of Public Health protects the population, both Chinese and foreign. The Electricity Department provides continuous current for light and power. The Public Works Department has built nearly 200 miles of paved streets and roads, a number of delightful parks and recreation grounds and all the elaborate buildings required for municipal purposes. In addition to the upkeep of all these, it is now constructing a sewerage system which will eventually include the entire city. The educational system includes, in addition to the numerous mission schools, municipal primary and high schools for both Chinese and foreign children. There are also several schools maintained by national groups. The Shanghai American School, with a new plan, a course extending through the high school grades, and sev-

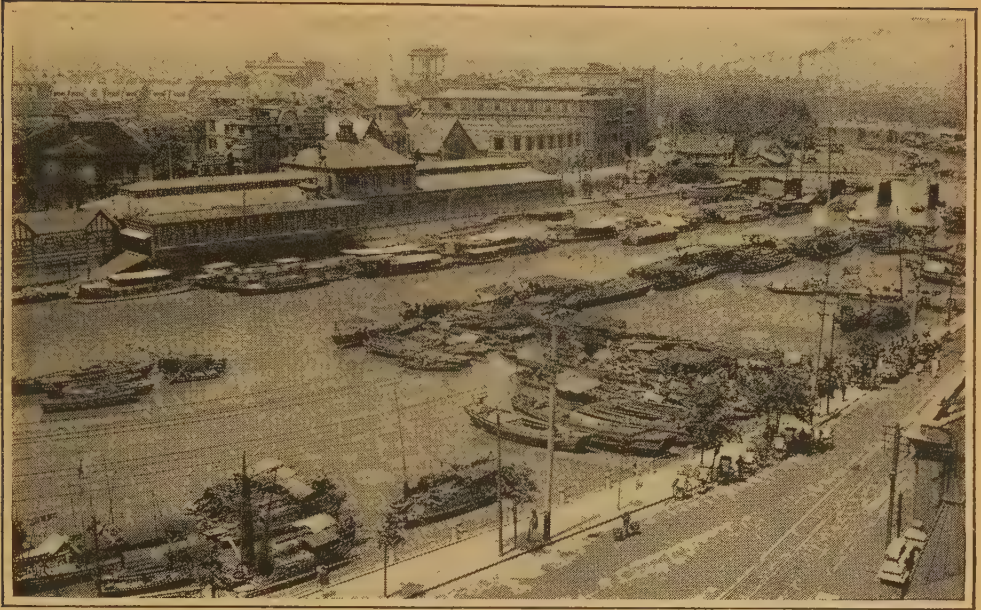
eral hundred pupils, is the most important of the national schools. Then there is the Municipal Orchestra, a fifty-piece symphony orchestra, supported by the municipality, which gives excellent concerts through eleven months of the year at merely nominal prices.

On the whole, few cities can boast a more broad-minded, public-spirited and efficient administration than the Shanghai International Settlement, a fact which is all the more remarkable in view of the vast differences in training and standards of living between the various component groups, and the necessity of conciliation, harmonization and cooperation at every step in the long development of the present great city.

CONSULAR BODY'S IMPORTANCE

The consular body is of far more importance in local affairs at Shanghai than anywhere else in the world, and in fact occupies a position unique in the history of foreign relations. Not only does it exercise on a large scale the usual consular functions with respect to commerce, shipping, assistance of many kinds to fellow-nationals, and so on, but it also has great responsibilities with regard to the welfare and development of the city itself. In a very real sense it is the guardian of the larger interests of Shanghai, the mouth-piece of the community and its individual members in dealing both with the Chinese Government and with the remote and sometimes unsympathetic home Governments. Every important question affecting the development of Shanghai, every threatened danger since its foundation, has been thrashed out and the action taken largely influenced by the consular body. The senior Consul is, therefore, quite properly the highest ranking official at Shanghai.

Before the World War all the great powers enjoyed extraterritorial rights in China, thus having the privilege and the duty of establishing courts for the trial of their nationals when accused of crime and for the hearing of suits between or against their nationals. This resulted eventually in the establishment of fourteen consular courts of the various nationalities, each administering the laws of its own country in cases where its nationals were defendants or accused.



Publishers' Photo Service

A birdseye view of Shanghai, overlooking the Soochow Creek

Great Britain realized before 1870 the disadvantages of leaving purely judicial work to overworked and necessarily untrained Consuls and established the British Supreme Court for China, with jurisdiction over all important cases. The United States did not follow suit until 1906, but since that year the United States Court for China has been in full operation with its own Federal Judge and staff, the Consuls retaining jurisdiction for small suits and commitment trials. This is an extremely busy and important court, and since its decisions are made under the treaties and in many cases interpret the law as affected by these treaties, they are often of both judicial and historical importance, and may involve no small international consequences. For this reason and for the additional reason that China is trying to modernize her judicial system along Western lines, and so is constantly watching the work of these courts, the British and American courts at Shanghai become most important institutions. Russia and Germany have given up their extraterritorial rights in the treaties concluded since 1918, leaving their nationals in the same jurisdictional status as nationals of non-

treaty powers and Chinese. Otherwise the extraterritorial system remains and the Consular courts still function as described. This statement applies, of course, to the whole of China.

Large numbers of cases in which Chinese and non-treaty-power foreigners living in Shanghai are defendants in civil suits, or are accused of crime or violations of municipal regulations, come under the jurisdiction of a different judicial body, the Shanghai International Mixed Court, one of the most interesting tribunals in existence. Established originally to make effective the treaty provision for joint investigation by the Chinese authorities and the Consul concerned when accusation or suit was brought against a Chinese by a foreigner, its jurisdiction has been extended in recent years to all cases against Chinese and non-extraterritorial foreigners for infractions of law within the Settlement and in suits where such defendant resides in the Settlement. The court consists in each case of a Chinese Magistrate and a foreign "assessor," who in practice has at least equal authority with the Magistrate. When they cannot agree the case is heard by a second court composed of another

Magistrate and assessor. If the plaintiff in a suit is of an "extraterritorial" foreign nationality the assessor is appointed by the Consul of that nationality and is practically always a member of the Consular staff. If the interests of a third party of "extraterritorial" foreign nationality are involved in such a suit the Consul of that nationality may designate an assessor to sit with the trial court for the purpose of protecting such third party's interest. If the case is between or solely involves Chinese or non-extraterritorial foreigners it is heard by a Magistrate and one of the four special assessors elected annually by the Consular body on nomination of the various Consuls. The six Chinese Magistrates are also selected by the Consular body with reference to their knowledge of both Chinese and foreign law and procedure and their general fitness for the work.

CHINESE JURISDICTION DEMANDED

The taking over of entire control of this court by the Consular body was the consequence of the breakdown of the organized Chinese Government at the time of the revolution in 1911. Before that time the Magistrates were chosen by the Chinese authorities, and the jurisdiction of the court over Chinese was not so extensive as at present. One of the current mooted questions in Peking and Shanghai is that of the restoration of this court to some degree of Chinese authority.

The volume and variety of work handled by the Shanghai International Mixed Court is stupendous. Criminal charges running from blocking traffic with a wheelbarrow or stealing scrap iron to the capital offenses of murder and armed robbery are heard and disposed of by thousands without jury and without appeal, though rehearings are frequently granted if there appears afterward any probability of error in the original judgment. Criminals condemned to be executed are sent to the Chinese military authorities outside the Settlement to be shot. Others convicted are fined or sent to the municipal jail to serve their sentences. Civil suits, equity cases, admiralty cases, probate cases—all the complicated judicial work of a great seaport city is poured into this court, day

in and day out. It is not uncommon for cases to come up in which hundreds of thousands of dollars are involved. Whether in those cases where they act as American assessors (when an American is bringing suit) or in the cases between Chinese, there is no more trying or responsible work in the hands of our foreign service than this onerous task. Their burden is not lessened by the fact that this court applies Chinese, not foreign, law. Its decisions are based on foreign law only when there is no Chinese law or established custom to cover the case.

Shanghai has an army as well as a Government. This is the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, or S. V. C., as it is always referred to. It is the community's defense force and safeguard against riot and uprising within and against careless factional fighting or possible incursion from without. It must not be forgotten that for looters Shanghai would be a prize beyond all imagining. Time and again the S. V. C. has proved its usefulness, and the knowledge that it is always there and ready, if needed, adds much to the stability and security of the Settlement. It is, besides, the most striking visible proof of that international cooperation which is the essence of the whole Shanghai situation. The S. V. C. consists of a fully organized and equipped modern fighting unit of some 2,000 rank and file, under command of a British army colonel lent for the purpose. It contains several British, one American, one Japanese, one Portuguese and one Chinese company of infantry, an American and British cavalry troop, an armored car company with eight fully equipped cars, a battery of field artillery, headquarters, staff and necessary auxiliary units. The members are volunteers from the respective foreign colonies at Shanghai.

This remarkable force has been continuously in existence since 1854, when it played a large part in the locally famous Battle of Muddy Flats, the first armed assertion of the inviolability of the Settlement in Chinese factional fighting. It has been called out a number of times in the intervening seventy years, and in the recent fighting around Shanghai was continuously on duty for weeks in cooperation with the international naval landing forces.

American Socialist Party's New Activities

By JAMES ONEAL

Editor of *The New Leader*; Author of *The Workers in American History*

THE organized Socialist movement in the United States, in common with all other radical movements, is still marking time, while a number of organizations that expressed political dissent with the two conservative parties have disappeared. The national Farmer-Labor Party, which had a promising beginning a few years ago, practically disbanded in 1924. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, which in that year bound the trade unions, the Socialists, State Farmer-Labor parties and a number of farmer organizations into a political alliance in support of Senator La Follette for President, dissolved in February, 1925. An attempt to organize its remnants into a liberal party in the next few months proved a failure. At the extreme "left" the Workers' (Communist) Party has made no progress, and it survives merely as a source of dissension in the needle trade unions in a few large cities.

All available evidence indicates that radical progress in American politics still lies in the future, but it is not quite true that organized socialism has "collapsed," as one writer recently asserted. The May convention of the Socialist Party at Pittsburgh revealed that this organization has not recovered from its war experience and its factional war with the Communists following the armistice. But it has by no means "collapsed." Forty delegates were present representing seventeen States, one district (New England) and four language federations. The total membership, that is, of those who pay dues, is not much above 10,000, but these members are located in thirty-nine States.

The membership has been hovering around this figure for several years, and it provides so small an income for the national office and the State organizations that it is a difficult problem for the ex-

ecutives to maintain organizers or speakers in the field. On the other hand the small membership is distributed almost as widely over the States as the larger membership was before the United States entered the World War. Owing to the agricultural character of the Southern States the Socialist Party never had any stable local organizations in that region, except in Texas. With the wide distribution of members the party leaders rely upon the organizations in thirty-nine States to serve as the basis for rebuilding the national organization.

During the war the national organ of the party lost its mailing privileges by action of Postmaster General Burleson. It managed to survive until the "split" with the Communist "left wing" in 1919 and was abandoned a few months later. Not until January, 1926, was the organization able to begin the publication of another official organ. In that month it established the *American Appeal* and by April the manager reported some 15,000 subscribers. Through this publication the national office has been able to reach many former members, and the executive reported to the convention that it has been of marked assistance in reviving local organizations that had disappeared several years ago. In place of the hundred or more periodicals published by the Socialists before the war less than thirty have survived, two of them being dailies. Another handicap which the organized Socialists have faced in the post-war period is a heavy indebtedness. This was incurred as a result of legal expenses in defending members indicted under the Espionage Act and trying to save publications from being denied mailing privileges. The delegates at the convention were informed at Pittsburgh that practically no indebtedness now faced the national organization.

This convention for the first time seriously considered the question involved in the existence of the League of Nations. European Socialists have had to formulate a position regarding the League, and at the International Socialist Congress in Hamburg in 1923 and at Marseilles in 1925 the Socialists of all nations were urged to favor the entrance of their respective nations into the League. While taking this position the European Socialists are not satisfied with the present organization of the League or with many of its policies, but they accept it as a fact that must be reckoned with. They contend that ignoring it or opposing it would leave the League in the control of imperialistic statesmen and thus hazard another war in which the masses would be the greatest sufferers. Moreover, the greater influence and power possessed by European Socialists give them the hope of being able eventually to make the League an instrument for restraining any avaricious power that may attempt to disturb the peace of the world.

American Socialists considered this problem at the Pittsburgh convention for the first time, Morris Hillquit of New York leading the discussion in favor of a pro-League policy and Congressman Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee leading the opposition. The variety of opinions expressed revealed the fact that the Socialists had not given the matter the study it should have before rendering a decision and they decided to postpone final action to the next convention, in the meantime the discussion to be continued in the party publications and the local organizations.

OPPOSITION TO PROHIBITION

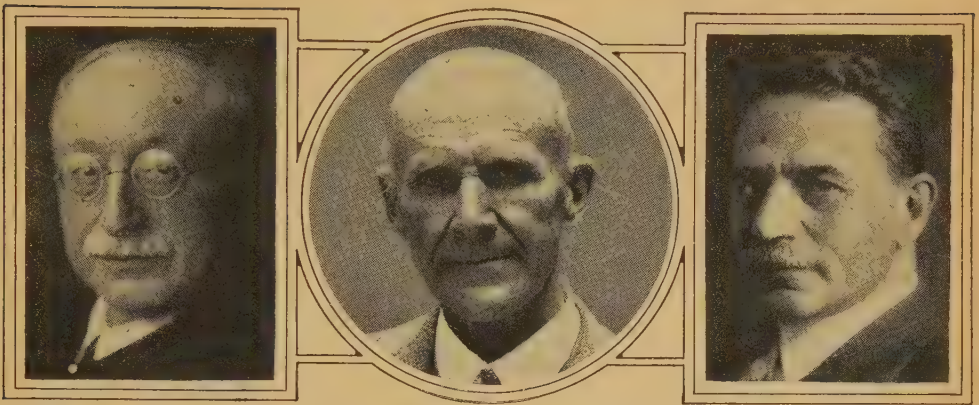
An unexpected diversity of opinion also developed on the matter of prohibition. Socialists have found that interest is so keen on this issue that in many localities it takes precedence in the minds of the masses over anything else. The delegates from Western States as a rule were inclined not only to accept the Volstead Act but to defend it as accomplishing its intended purpose. Those coming from the Eastern States generally agreed in the view that the prohibition law is not only a farce but a violation of the elementary rights of

citizens. A middle ground was maintained by another group, which won approval for its proposal. It affirmed the failure of prohibition and condemned the "blundering legislative methods so characteristic of Republican and Democratic politicians" and declared that "the Socialist Party advocates legislation that will permit of domestic use of light wines and beer and the manufacture for sale of alcoholic beverages by the Federal Government alone under strict safeguards and proper restrictions." This action in favor of public ownership follows the course taken by Socialists in many other countries.

The Workers' (Communist) Party sent a long communication to the convention proposing a political alliance for this year in which, under the name of a "united front," it desired to include trade unions and farmer organizations as well as the Socialists. This proposal was made to two previous Socialist conventions and has been made in many States and localities by the Communists for several years, but it has always been rejected. The reason for this rejection is that the Socialist and Communist parties of the world fundamentally differ in aims as well as policies. Moreover, the Socialists contend that in those countries where the "united front" has been accepted it has been followed by bad faith on the part of Communist organizations in that they carry on persistent warfare against those who accept their proffered cooperation. The proposal was rejected without a dissenting vote.

A NEW LITERATURE

If one decision of the convention is carried out, within the next few years an entirely new type of Socialist literature will be contributed by the American Socialist movement. In practically all the modern nations the Socialist movement has developed a literature interpretative of the economic, social, political, cultural and institutional development of the respective countries. With the exception of a few small books this work has not been attempted in the United States and it has come to be regarded as one important source of weakness. Hitherto the American movement has been largely content with



SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS

Wide World

From left to right: Representative Victor Berger, Eugene V. Debs and Morris Hillquit

either reprinting or rewriting the theoretical works of Europeans. The result has been to neglect many important phases of American history and a failure to interpret American life and problems in terms of American economic and social evolution. What is intended is not to build a "national" American movement, but to root the Socialist movement in the psychology and institutional development of the United States. For this reason it is proposed to publish a series of study outlines of this character and also some larger works. This is not a departure from the normal work of Socialist parties. It has been merely neglected in the United States and it is now proposed to do what many Socialists now believe should have been done long ago. It is held that, as the United States has a large population of immigrants, this work is all the more necessary. The immigrant tends to think in terms of the experience he acquires in his homeland and unless his attention is focused on the problems of American life he is likely to be swayed in his judgments

by his European experience and thus be drawn into exotic movements like that organized by the Workers' (Communist) Party.

Although the failure of the Conference for Progressive Political Action to support the organization of a Labor Party following the election of 1924 was disappointing to American Socialists, they have reaffirmed their policy of cooperation with trade unions in establishing such a party. In local and State elections where such movements appear Socialist organizations are urged to encourage them. However, this does not include cooperation with liberal or progressive groups. The policy is solely intended to found eventually a Labor Party that will be the instrument of trade union, educational and cooperative organizations of workers, not a liberal or progressive party of citizens in general and modeled after the conventional party organizations of the United States. Whether such a party will appear in American political life only the future can determine.



The Germans Under Danish Rule In Slesvig

By EDGAR W. KNIGHT

Of the School of Education, University of North Carolina, and Fellow of the Social Science Research Council

THE problem of education in a community with a national minority is well illustrated in Slesvig. And just like all wearisome and persistent educational problems it has an important history. In 1864 Prussia and Austria united in war against Denmark and forced her to relinquish Slesvig. Under the benevolent provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, the dismembered territory was restored in part to the mother country in February of 1920. During the fifty-six years of German rule the question of Slesvig's restoration was an intimate and somewhat personal matter with most Danes.

From the outset there was legal basis for the Danish national hope that those Danes who had by disaster come under German rule would be in such subjection only temporarily, since in the fifth paragraph of the Prague Conference Treaty of 1866 was a clause which gave the people of Slesvig the right to decide by vote whether they would belong to Germany or to Denmark. The plebiscite promised under this article was never permitted, however, and not until 1920 were the discouraged Danes enabled to rescue themselves from the distasteful German domination. The result of the election was that Northern Slesvig voted strongly to return to Denmark, and the Southern part, almost completely Germanized, voted as strongly to remain with Germany. The frontier was moved further to the south, with the result that two new national minorities, Danish in Southern Slesvig and German in North Slesvig, were created.

During the half century of separation from Denmark Slesvig had been Germanized in many ways. By degrees German services had been introduced into the churches, and by 1888 Danish lessons had

been abolished in the schools. Danish clergymen and teachers had been dismissed and Danish private schools forbidden. Parents had not been allowed to send their children across the frontier into Denmark so long as they were within the age prescribed by the German law for school attendance. The people encountered many other discouraging devices of Germanization. Denied the help of church and school, they found the task of resisting German influence almost hopeless.

These national afflictions served to sadden but not to embitter the Danes. The experience may, in part at least, help to explain the liberal policy now followed by Denmark in dealing with the German minority within her borders. A half century of injustice to the Danes in Slesvig had not deadened their own sense of fairness to others. All Danes and most other Scandinavians believe that Denmark did not recover too much of Slesvig in 1920. And apparently all Danes, especially the heroic minority in Southern Slesvig, believe that the result of the election must be observed and the resulting new frontier respected. They realize the necessity of living in peace with their German neighbors and desire that national differences may not lead to strife but to peaceful competition and an exchange of culture founded on mutual respect and understanding. The price to be paid for such a relation may be dear. It will demand not only a compromise of differences, but a fair and just treatment of the national minorities on either side of the new frontier.

The Danish policy of dealing with these people in Northern Slesvig, who, though Danish in a political sense, are German in a national sense, is not only liberal but voluntary. It is not required by treaty. At the Versailles Peace Conference Den-

mark had maintained that special guarantees in treaties were unnecessary. She believed that sufficient security was furnished by the liberal Danish legislation already in force which would apply to all Danish subjects in Slesvig without regard to language and nationality. Freedom in education and religion, freedom of the press, the right of assembly, proportional representation, and the security of home and property against arbitrary treatment by the executive were the guiding principles of this legislation, which was constitutional in basis. All political parties in Denmark, including the Conservatives and the Labor Party, endorsed the Government's position.

The German minority in Slesvig is largely of the same race as the other people of Jutland. Most of them understand Danish and use it in their homes. They profess, as almost all Danes, the Evangelical-Lutheran faith. The German-mindedness of this minority is due to a peculiar historical development during the last half century rather than to German descent or to a native German language in South Jutland. Inasmuch, therefore, as this minority does not differ in race or religion from the people among whom they live, the Danish policy of dealing with them has to do largely with matters of language and schools.

In Northern Slesvig the Danish Government has divided the elementary schools into two sections. In one of these Danish is the language of instruction and in the other German is used. Parents and guardians choose the section to which they wish to send their children. Those children who attend the section using Danish have the opportunity after the third school year of four to six lessons in German weekly, and those children who attend the section which uses German have the privilege of the same number of lessons in Danish. But this language instruction is not obligatory, and children exempted from it may use

time thus saved for other school subjects. In the country communities and smaller boroughs the language of instruction in the school depends upon the language of the people in the school district. If the language of instruction is Danish, the people must vote on a special course with German as the basis of instruction if 10 per cent. of the voters of the school district having parental authority over children of school age express this desire to the local school board. In the election, if 20 per cent. of the qualified voters want German as the language of instruction, such a course must be provided for those who desire it. If less than 20 per cent. of the voters desire this course, it must be provided if such voters represent as many as twenty-four children of legal school age.

A JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PLAN

The Danish Ministry of Education has also established in the towns in Northern Slesvig what is known as middle school classes, covering the school years from



Map of Denmark. The heavily shaded area is the portion of Slesvig acquired by Denmark from Germany in 1920 and contains the German minorities

eleven to fifteen, a sort of junior high school plan, with German as the basis of instruction. These classes are set up in connection with municipal schools and are supported by the Danish Government. In accordance with special legislation passed in 1920, higher education at public expense is also provided in the larger towns of Slesvig. Moreover, the educational rights of the German minority are in no way dependent for protection upon the local governing bodies but upon the highest school authorities of the kingdom, including the State Ministry of Education. Local school boards include minority representation, whose opinion may be submitted to the Ministry.

The expenses of the schools in Slesvig are provided under the general Danish school law. Even the extra expense of schools divided into Danish and German sections is thus provided. In addition, the Danish Government makes building grants to communities which require additional equipment on account of the divided school. Large sums are expended for such purposes as well as on the salaries of teachers. The German minority may also establish German private schools, which receive public aid. Children may be exempted from instruction in the public elementary schools if their parents or guardians arrange instruction for them not inferior to that generally demanded in such schools. But this law applies to all of Denmark as well as to that part of Slesvig restored in 1920.

The same liberal policy is followed in church and legal matters where the problem is also one of language. Some religious services are conducted in the language of the minority. In all parishes members of the congregations may receive ministrations in the German language. German services are held in more than one-fourth of the churches and in the larger towns two rectors of equal rank may be appointed, one for the Danish and another for the German congregation, each rector using his own language. The rights of the minority are fully protected also in legal proceedings. Written or verbal addresses by the parties to a suit or by their

attorneys may be given in German; and, if necessary, the proceedings are conducted by the aid of an interpreter retained by the court and paid for out of public funds. All writs or other processes by which the court exercises its jurisdiction, when served in the German language, must be accompanied by a Danish translation, and the cost is a legitimate public charge.

The difference between the policies of the Danish and German Governments in their respective portions of Slesvig disturbs many Danes who believe that the difficulties in that region are not yet fully settled. Until quite recently the various German political parties had been unable to agree on a policy of treatment for the rather large Danish minority in Southern Slesvig. Neither schools nor churches had been provided. A short time ago, however, the Prussian Government announced the grant of what was described in the press as "far-reaching concessions." The conditions under which schools for the Danish minority may be established are practically identical with those which the Danish Government provided for the German minority immediately after the frontier between the two countries was moved further to the south.

In view of the controversy with Mussolini over the treatment of the German minority in the South Tyrol, this recently adopted German policy is hailed with some pride in Berlin as an example of the way Germany treats national minorities within her borders. It seems a pity, however, that the announcement regarding Southern Slesvig, where the problem has existed for six years, should have followed the controversy in the Tyrol, the prominence of which doubtless hastened the decision of the German Government to make concessions in Slesvig. The years just ahead will tell whether in practice the policy of Germany in Slesvig will prove as extensive and liberal as it now appears and sounds. If Germany desires to treat national minorities within her borders as she would have her own treated in other countries, attention will presumably be turned to the Polish minority in Germany, which of course will not be a very popular task.

Settling America's War Claims Against Germany

By JOSEPH CONRAD FEHR

Formerly Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States

AMONG the unfinished business before Congress which will receive the earnest attention of both houses when they reconvene next December, will be the disposal of the alien property sequestered during the war, and the providing of ways and means for the payment of American claims against Germany. Various bills have been introduced in previous sessions of Congress for the return to its former German owners of the impounded property still in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian. Senator King of Utah, who was perhaps the first proponent of legislation to release the property, and Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, have consistently maintained that this private property of former alien enemies was seized merely as a war measure and that it was the intention of Congress merely to hold it in trust until after the war.

There have, however, never been sufficient votes to bring about the unconditional release of this property to its former owners. Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama and Senator Claude A. Swanson of Virginia and others are prepared to thwart every move to return this property to those from whom it was seized until Germany shall have made satisfactory financial settlement of the more than 12,000 claims now nearing the end of their adjudication by the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany.

This commission, which sits in Washington, was created under an executive agreement entered into between the United States and Germany in August, 1922, in pursuance of the Treaty of Berlin, and was given jurisdiction to pass upon claims of the following character:

(1) Claims of American citizens arising since July 31, 1914, in respect of damage to, or seizure of, their property, rights and interests, including

any company or association in which they are interested, within German territory as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914;

(2) Other claims for loss or damage to which the United States or its nationals have been subjected with respect to injuries to persons, or to property, rights and interests, including any company or association in which American nationals are interested, since July 31, 1914, as a consequence of the war;

(3) Debts owing to American citizens by the German Government or by German nationals.

The tribunal is presided over by an Umpire, who is an American national, and each country is represented by a Commissioner. Both Germany and the United States are represented before the commission by agents charged with the duty of presenting to that tribunal all the facts and issues of law in connection with the more than 12,000 claims in process of adjudication. The Umpire is Judge Edwin B. Parker of Texas and New York. The American Commissioner is Chandler P. Anderson of Washington and New York, and Dr. Wilhelm Kiesselbach of Hamburg is the German Commissioner. The American agent is Robert W. Bonyng, who, with H. H. Martin of Washington as chief counsel and a staff of attorneys, handles this tremendous international lawsuit for the United States. Dr. Karl von Lewinski is the German agent and chief counsel.

To date the total amount of awards entered by the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, aggregates about \$176,000,000. Of this amount approximately \$42,000,000 comprises awards to the United States on Government claims for loss of ships owned by the Shipping Board and other Government agencies and insurance losses by the United States Veterans' Bureau. The remainder of approximately \$135,000,000 represents the awards to the United States on behalf of American

nationals who suffered losses, damages, and (or) injuries due to Germany's submarine warfare or by reason of the confiscation or sequestration of their property rights and interests in Germany and in occupied territories during the war, and for other causes.

The best estimate (embodying the figures just given) that the Mixed Claims Commission has been able to furnish Congress regarding the awards allowed under the various groups of claims is as follows:

PRIVATE CLAIMS

1. Death and personal injury claims (including Lusitania claims \$2,409,431.31)	\$ 3,850,000
2. Hull and cargo losses:	
a. Private	54,450,000
b. Government	42,034,000
3. Property seized, damaged, requisitioned, or sequestered by Germany in German territory or occupied territory	24,750,000
4. Bank deposits.....	5,250,000
5. Debts	1,750,000
6. Estate claims.....	2,000,000
Total	\$134,084,000

STRICTLY GOVERNMENT CLAIMS

1. U. S. Shipping Board claims...	\$16,500,000.00
2. U. S. Veterans' Bureau claims..	24,319,095.41
3. U. S. R. R. Administration....	1,215,000.00
4. U. S. Governments Despatch Agency	699.00
Total ..	\$42,034,794.41
Combined total	\$176,118,794.41

More than 90 per cent. of the nearly 13,000 claims originally filed with the American Agent for eventual presentation to the Mixed Claims Commission have already been disposed of. The few hundred claims remaining to be disposed of will, it is estimated, bring the total of the principal of the private and Government claims up to between \$185,000,000 and \$190,000,000. It is estimated that interest on these awards at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum from various dates will make the total bill against Germany about \$250,000,000.

These figures are exclusive of the cost of the Army of Occupation, calculated at \$255,554,810.53. This item is being paid under the Dawes plan from German rep-

arations at the rate of about \$12,000,000 per annum.

The Secretary of the Treasury has submitted, by way of the bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Ogden L. Mills of New York, a plan which provides for the prompt return of the seized property and the payment of the adjudicated claims against Germany out of the Treasury of the United States on the strength of the annuities payable annually to this country through the operation of the Dawes plan. This is the plan which met with such steadfast opposition during the session of Congress which has just ended but which will be the nucleus for any legislation that will undoubtedly be enacted during the next session. Its main features are:

1. Awards to American citizens on the Mixed Claims shall be paid.

2. An arbiter, appointed by the President, shall award compensation due the German owners of ships, radio stations and patents, taken and used by the United States, and that the United States shall pay these awards for an aggregate not exceeding \$100,000,000.

3. The Treasury may borrow money to make such payments.

4. The property of German nationals in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian shall be returned.

5. The earnings prior to March 4, 1923, on moneys deposited by the Alien Property Custodian in the United States Treasury shall be retained and applied toward payment of the awards of the Commission. March 4, 1923, is the date of the Winslow act giving similar earnings after that date to the enemy owners.

6. The United States shall pay up to the date of the Winslow act interest at 4 per cent. per annum on moneys of American citizens wrongfully seized by the Alien Property Custodian and deposited in the Treasury.

7. Receipts by the United States from Germany on account of the Mixed Claims and the Army Costs shall be applied by the United States to the payments of awards of the Mixed Claims Commission and of the arbiter to interest on any debt created by the United States for money borrowed to make payments required by the bill, and to the retirement of the public debt.

The important provision of the bill relates to the direct payment of the awards of the commission out of the United States Treasury, although the Secretary of the Treasury is given authority to issue bonds, if he deems it advisable, to raise the



Harris & Ewing

THE MIXED CLAIMS COMMISSION

Left to right, seated: Chandler P. Anderson, American Commissioner; Judge Edwin B. Parker, Umpire; Dr. Wilhelm Kieselbach, German Commissioner. Standing, left to right: Robert W. Bonyne, American Agent, and Dr. Karl von Lewinski, German Agent

necessary funds, in accordance with the various Liberty Bond Acts and the Victory Liberty Loan Act. Amended and supplemented, Section 3 of the Mills bill specifically provides:

a. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the payment of the awards authorized by Sections 1 and 2 of this Act.

b. In order to meet such payments the Secretary of the Treasury, if he deems it advisable, may exercise the authority granted by the various Liberty Bond Acts and the Victory Liberty Loan Act, as amended and supplemented, to issue bonds, notes, and certificates of indebtedness of the United States, and any bonds so issued shall be disregarded in computing the maximum amount of bonds authorized by Section 1 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended.

c. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, upon such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, to use any of the money including the proceeds of any property, rights, or benefits which may be sold or otherwise disposed of, upon such terms and conditions as he may prescribe) received by the United States in respect of claims of the United States against Germany on account of the costs of the United States Army of Occupation and awards of the Mixed Claims Commission, for the payment of such awards, or to reimburse the United States for interest paid on

the bonds, notes and certificates of indebtedness issued under the provision of Subdivision b, or on bonds, notes, and certificates of indebtedness issued for refunding purposes in connection with the bonds, notes, and certificates of indebtedness so issued; and any of such money not so used shall be used for the payment, redemption, or purchase, at not to exceed par and accrued interest, of any bonds, notes, or certificates of indebtedness of the United States.

In the opinion of Mr. Mellon Representative Mill's bill is not only a comprehensive treatment of all the countless post-war questions to be adjusted between the United States and Germany, but also furnishes a sound policy for the settlement of all war losses suffered by American nationals and German nationals alike.

Mr. Mellon's plan as thus outlined in the Mills bill is opposed to the confiscation of the Alien Property Custodian's holdings, apparently on the theory that the assets of Germany are already completely mortgaged to the Allies and that the burden of America's war losses should, therefore, be temporarily assumed by all the people of America. Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, has introduced almost the

same measure in the United States Senate.

Congress is asked to provide for the temporary assumption by the United States of the obligations of the German Government to pay the claims of all American nationals by direct payment of the awards out of the Treasury of the United States, on the strength of the security represented by the annual sums payable to this country under the Dawes plan. These Dawes annuities total \$11,000,000, which should not be confused with the \$12,000,000 mentioned above. The United States obtained a share in the total payments represented by the Dawes annuities as finally put into operation by the agreement reached in Paris. This share is 55,000,000 gold marks, or about \$12,000,000, a year toward the payment of our Army of Occupation costs, and in addition "2¼ per cent. of the Dawes annuities available for distribution as reparations, provided that the annuity resulting from this percentage should not in any year exceed 45,000,000 gold marks." It is this 45,000,000 gold marks payable to the United States under the 2¼ per cent. arrangement, or \$11,000,000 per annum in American currency, which is to be applied toward the payment of awards of the Mixed Claims Commission to American nationals, including corporations.

OPPOSITION IN CONGRESS

Payment of American war claims against Germany out of funds in the United States Treasury either as a loan to Germany or otherwise is meeting with widespread opposition. Not only are Senators Swanson and Underwood opposed to such a procedure, but Senator King, who has heretofore been sponsor for the unconditional release of the property in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian, has indicated his unwillingness to have the United States assume this obligation of Germany to compensate Americans who were despoiled during the war.

The opponents of such a plan insist that the taxpayers in the United States will, in effect, pay America's war claims which Germany is obligated, in law and honor, to pay under the Treaty of Berlin. They look askance upon the acceptance by this Government of the payments under

the Dawes plan, whatever they may amount to, in full satisfaction of the claims being adjudicated by the Mixed Claims Commission. Even assuming that Germany meets these payments without a failure, between sixty and seventy years will elapse before the final remittance is made.

The advocates of the measure, on the other hand, argue that the reparations which have been demanded of Germany are beyond her capacity to pay. They point out that Germany is unable to meet her treaty obligations, as evidenced by the fact that she has been forced, as it were, into a receivership, necessitating the reorganization of her financial structure by the Dawes plan which fixes Germany's treaty obligations, after a five-year recuperation period, at a maximum of 2,500,000,000 gold marks a year.

The financial and loaning feature of the Treasury Department's proposal for the assumption by the United States of the payment of our claims against Germany is explained by Under Secretary of the Treasury Winston as follows:

If no interest is to be paid upon accumulated interest, an annuity of \$11,000,000 would pay current interest and pay the \$60,000,000 accumulated interest in 40 years, and thereafter in 40 more years would amortize the principal of the awards, a total period of 80 years. This is on the assumption that the Dawes plan continues for that length of time and that each year Germany is able to pay to the Transfer Agent in Germany and the Transfer Agent is able to transfer into the currencies of the creditor nations 2,500,000,000 gold marks per year. While our Army Costs repayments are preferred, the Mixed Claims belong in the general category of reparations without preference and any diminution in total payments will be felt by the Mixed Claims.

The harmonizing of these divergent views promises to be one of the severest tests that has ever faced Congress. However, the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General have the concurrence of Congress that the alien property situation should be disposed of promptly. Chairman Green of the House Ways and Means Committee has served notice that his committee will meet before Congress convenes again to consider the redrafting of the so-called Treasury plan, so as to insure its final enactment in December or early next year.

New Light on Man's Ancestors

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, D. C.

NEAR the great rock of Gibraltar there has been unearthed new evidence bearing upon the evolution of mankind. Portions of a human skull, including the frontal bone, belonging to the mysterious Neanderthal race that vanished from the earth about 25,000 years ago, were discovered at Devil's Tower, Gibraltar, by Daisy E. Garrod of Oxford University. The bones were buried at a depth of ten feet and with them were the rude stone implements used by these cave men of prehistoric Europe.

This discovery is regarded by anthropologists as being of considerable importance because it corroborates the data of a similar discovery made at Gibraltar in 1848, which gave the first clue to a branch of the human race very different from people of today. This significance of the skull was not realized until 1856, when a skeleton of the same peculiar type was unearthed at the Neanderthal region in Prussia. This Neanderthal skeleton was so strange that it was at first regarded as the body of a man misshapen by some terrible disease or deformity, but later finds proved the existence of an entire race with large flat skulls; great ridges over the brows; snout-like noses, probably unlike any noses that we have any conception of; thick, clumsy joints; heads carried heavily bent forward. The remains of this type of human being have been found in widely scattered places in Europe, and evidence indicates that the race existed for some 50,000 years in the era before the last great ice age. The first Gibraltar skull could be dated no more exactly than to say that it belonged to the Neanderthal race of the Mousterian age. It is possible that this new skull will enable anthropologists to find out more definitely when, why and how these extinct people made their cave homes in Southern Spain.

PRE-MAYA RACE

Inquiries into the past are also being conducted in other parts of the world. In

what is now Mexico there lived before the coming of Columbus a wonderful Maya race. Its descendants still live in the jungle-covered area, but their glory has faded. Now archaeologists are engaged in the task of reconstructing the past of this ancient American race. Even the forerunners of the wonderful Maya civilization in Central America have been discovered. Earthquakes which long ago shook Guatemala may enable archaeologists to put American pre-history back many thousands of years, and thus a new era ripe for archaeological research will be revealed.

Such are the probable results of a three months' reconnaissance survey of unknown Guatemala just completed by Dr. Manuel Gamio, leading Mexican archaeologist, working under the auspices of the Archaeological Society of Washington. The survey was for the purpose of determining whether Guatemala is a promising field for pre-Maya explorations. The first reports confirm the conjecture that the Guatemalan highlands would yield evidence of ancient human occupancy, dating back to long before the time of Christ. What happened in the central region of America before the rise of the Maya, the Toltecs and the Aztecs is literally "pre-history." From time to time clay and stone fragments of great antiquity have been found in Central America, but archaeologists have vaguely termed them as "archaic," which means only that they belong to an age and a people that distinctly preceded the Maya.

Dr. Gamio made several trial excavations, digging through seven strata of deposited soil, each layer being about twenty inches thick. In these deposits he found numerous fragments of pottery and clay sculptures. Many of these are of the archaic type. There are a few Maya finds. Also, some of the pottery shows signs of a gradual transition to the ceramic style of the Maya, indicating that the two types may have blended or that one developed into the other. Geography, and earth-

quakes in particular, are helping in this tracing of early Mayan history. Exploring this unsettled region, Dr. Gamio has found evidence that the Maya, able constructors of lofty and complicated edifices, did not, if one may judge from appearances, build anything in the high zones affected by earthquakes. They confined themselves to the lower and above all to the coastal regions, where shocks were not experienced.

In another sector of the attack being

made on archaeological America, archaeologists of the Carnegie Institution of Washington through their discoveries have pushed backward by at least a century the antiquity of the ancient Maya civilization of Yucatan. Hitherto unknown archaeological ruins, called Macanxoc, meaning "You cannot read it," were found. Macanxoc is said to be the religious and ceremonial centre of Coba, a large provincial Old Maya Empire City, located fifty miles east of Chichen Itza. The archaeologists have been able to decipher sculptured inscriptions on stelae found at Macanxoc that date from 364 to 413 A. D.

From the style, sculpture and dates of the hieroglyphics on the remains, the experts have concluded that Macanxoc is the oldest centre of Maya civilization thus far known to Yucatan. The most brilliant Maya paintings so far known and the best preserved painted serpent heads yet found were unearthed recently in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza. Remains of a serpent column temple decorated with these works of art were revealed when a corner pyramid was excavated.

PIONEER STOCK

In his presidential address before the Eugenics Research Association, Dr. Arthur H. Estabrook discussed the eugenic aspect of American settlement, with its many interwoven threads of migration. In this

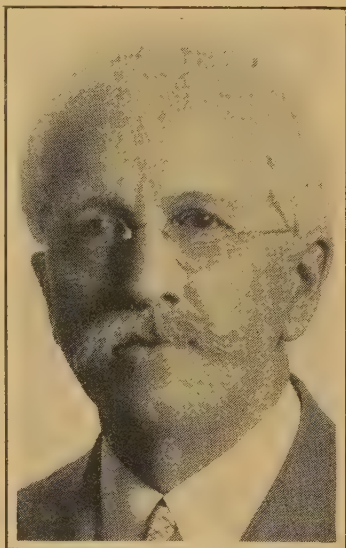
story there is a demonstration that good blood persistently seeks and finds for itself a desirable environment, while descendants of poorer stock settle down in less desirable places with a shrug of the shoulders. Very definite strains of people were carried across the continent and deposited here and there by the sifting process of the pioneer movements. Studies made by Dr. Estabrook seem clearly to indicate that the early pioneers in the settlement of the wilderness

were from stock of superior ability and physique. As they went westward the more energetic were continually seeking to reach regions and areas that were capable of development, and if by chance they became pocketed in undesirable places, the energetic stock and individuals again moved on, leaving the less active in the areas where there was poorer chance for development. In places where social and mental defectives have become established and multiplied there is no blood with ability, and in Dr. Estabrook's opinion, schools and community organizations

have little influence in raising the social and economic level. Poor stock continues to mate with poor stock, and offspring with only low mental equipment results. If immigration were to cease, the slums of a city would in time correspond exactly to these rough, unproductive rural sections.

DISSIPATION OF MATTER

The question of whither we and the universe are going is always intriguing. Presented as a purely scientific conclusion, Dr. Richard C. Tolman, physical chemist of the California Institute of Technology, says that the universe is running down. Dr. Tolman admits this conclusion is probably untenable for a philosopher who would want to know "who wound the uni-



JAMES H. BREASTED
Professor of Egyptology and
Oriental History, University of
Chicago, author and archaeologist

verse up"; or if nobody wound it up, how could it have been running down for an indefinite period of past time and still operate? Taking the position of a court of law rather than that of speculative philosophy, the physical chemist of today finds no direct evidence whatsoever to deny the apparent fact that matter is being dissipated into a chaos of worthless scattered energy. To be sure, only a few species of matter are being actively destroyed in this manner on earth, but the tremendous radiations of the sun and stars are explainable on no other basis. Dr. Tolman points out that future research may prove the atoms of terrestrial matter to be amenable to some setting-off process roughly analogous to the touching of a match to gunpowder. Possibly some of the so-called "novae," or new stars, which burst suddenly into view with a brilliance born of terrific temperatures and enormous radiation, may have been set off by a cosmic fuse of some sort. Obviously, the control of such forces on earth by man would involve fearful responsibilities.

It is not necessary, in the degradation of matter into scattered energy, that large atoms should always break down into small ones. It is known that hydrogen atoms, the smallest atoms known, of their own free will combine in quartets to form helium atoms, but release in the process nearly 1 per cent. of their substance. The offshoot is transformed into an enormous quantity of energy. Recent calculations show that the new cosmic rays, investigated last Summer by Millikan, may well have come from the hydrogen-helium transformation in some distant nebula or star. At least it is known that they do not come from the earth or necessarily from the sun. The transmutation of hydrogen into helium is very slow in most parts of the universe, so that the accumulated supply of the valuable product is small. The control of

the reaction would plainly serve as a tremendous impetus to the airship industry, but the key to the puzzle is not in sight.

THOMSON'S THEORY

The smallest particle in the universe has usually been considered to be the electron, the unit of electricity, which is also matter. Now Sir J. J. Thomson, discoverer of the electron and leader of British physicists, suggests that there may be particles even smaller than the electron surrounding the parts of which atoms are built up. This hypothesis is suggested to reconcile the old wave theory of light and the newer quantum theory. According to modern notions, an atom consists of a central, rather massive, nucleus charged with positive electricity called a proton, surrounded at relatively great distances by ultra-minute particles of negative electricity called electrons, which rotate in different orbits around the nucleus. In order to reconcile the modern view that energy is emitted in small separate bundles, or "quanta," with the older ideas it is necessary to assume that both the proton and its satellite electrons are surrounded by an atmosphere of much smaller particles, the impact of which on the protons and electrons causes them to vibrate and send out energy. "Both proton and electron must be regarded as nebular systems," Sir Joseph says. Theory indicates that the vibrations or oscillatory movements of protons and electrons should give rise to electrical waves, and Sir Joseph believes that such waves are actually produced, although ordinarily they are unable to escape from the outer confines of the atom, being reflected back into the interior. The so-called "quanta" of light he believes to consist of bundles of electrical waves shot out from the atom at the same time as ordinary electro-magnetic waves.



Armies and Navies of the World

THE UNITED STATES

THE House and Senate conferees on June 21 reached an agreement on the bill authorizing the construction of 1,800 new airplanes for the Army during the next five years at an approximate cost of \$140,000,000. There can, however, be no increase in personnel or equipment in the Army Air Corps unless the Budget Bureau takes advantage of the authorization. The President signed, on June 24, a similar bill for the Navy, providing for 1,000 new planes and two dirigibles, each twice the size of the Shenandoah, contracts for 147 of these planes having already been awarded. Edward P. Warner of Massachusetts was nominated by the President on June 30 to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Aviation, one of three such new posts provided for in the defense program.

The Federal Council of Churches on June 6 took a definite stand against compulsory military training in schools and colleges in the form of recommendations to church people throughout the nation, and President Coolidge on June 15 expressed his opposition to it, with the reservation, however, that he believes that the physical training which comes from military drill is beneficial and should be encouraged, provided that the military aspects are not uppermost.

Admiral C. F. Hughes has been named as Commander-in-Chief of the United States fleet, succeeding Admiral S. S. Robison.

James Cameron, Director of Investigation and Accounts of the War Department, resigned on June 30, stating that four years of research and investigation has convinced him that the charges against the Government of fraud in the making and settling of wartime contracts are unwarranted.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE proposal for the replacement of the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War and the Secretary of State for Air by a Minister to be known as the Minister of Defense, who should be the head of the Navy, Army and Air Force, has been under discussion in

Parliament during the past month. The chief purpose of the proposed change is the alleged economies it would effect, but the consensus of opinion in the House of Lords seems to be that the economies would only exist on paper. The report of the Salisbury committee, which has been investigating the whole question for three years, bears out this belief, and advises against such an amalgamation. Various alternatives have been suggested, such as the transformation of the existing Committee of Imperial Defense into a Cabinet committee which would have executive powers and which the Chief of Staff would assist in an advisory capacity, or the issuing of a special warrant defining the duties of the Chiefs of Staff and enjoining them to meet regularly and draw up a common policy and proposals for submission to the Committee of Imperial Defense, the latter suggestion being recommended by the Salisbury committee.

The report of the Committee of Inquiry into the financial position and business methods of the Indian Army Canteen Board completely condemns the whole organization on grounds of gross inefficiency and recommends its dissolution or drastic reorganization.

GERMANY

THE Paris agreement regulating German air traffic, which is in the form of correspondence between the President of the Ambassadors' Conference and the German Ambassador in Paris, was adopted on May 21. According to these regulations the German Government must issue a decree forbidding the construction or importation of aeroplanes or airships that are armored, protected, or equipped with weapons of any kind or with instruments for the dropping of bombs. Civil flying is to be furthered only within the limits of its normal development, and the training of pilots in military flying is forbidden. At the most thirty-six members of the Reichswehr may participate in sports flying at their own cost, and at the end of six years only thirty-six shall be fully trained pilots; a list of Reichswehr mem-

bers that have any connection with aviation is to be filed with the authorities; the police officials are limited to fifty trained pilots. No grant of public money may be made for the support of flying or for the training of pilots beyond the needs of aerial traffic and of the factories, and the construction and importation of machines of the modern racing type must be specially sanctioned by the Government. The possession is restored to Germany of the works at Friedrichshafen and other aerial installations. Control of these regulations, when in force, is in the hands of the League of Nations.

JAPAN

THE Young Men's Training act, passed by the Diet last session, went into effect on July 1. It applies to all young men between the ages of 16 and 20, except those taking training in schools, and consists of a four-year course, of which 400 hours are devoted to military drill, 200 hours to elementary education, 100 hours to business training and 100 hours to ethics and citizenship. Control is vested in the Department of Education and not the military authorities and the educational features will be particularly stressed. This will mean that about 2,300,000 young men will be in war training at a time. The term of conscription has been cut to one year, ten months and twenty days.

The Defense Budget is as follows: the Extraordinary Budget was estimated at 920,000,000 yen and the expenditure at 900,000,000 yen, a balance of 20,000,000. The revenue provided for expenditure was derived from various sources: articles seized in enemy territory provided 38,000,000 yen; 305,000,000 yen were transferred from the general account; and loans produced 556,000,000 yen. Of these sums the Army spent 648,000,000 yen and the Navy 258,000,000 yen. The Army spent on personnel 107,000,000 yen, on material 461,000,000 yen and on secret service 24,000,000 yen. The Navy spent 1,700,000 yen on secret service.

The Ministry of Marine proposes that thirty-three additional vessels should be provided for with a view to their comple-

tion in 1931. They will include four 10,000-ton cruisers, sixteen 1,700-ton destroyers, five 2,000-ton submarines, five 400-ton gunboats, one oil carrier and one mine layer.

Germany is constructing the world's largest hydroplane for Japan at the Friedrichshafen works. It is capable of carrying one hundred persons and is fitted with twelve engines capable of developing 5,400 horsepower.

TURKEY

THE former German cruiser Goeben is being refitted to serve as the flagship of the Turkish Navy and will patrol the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. A large modern dry dock and naval base is being built by German contractors for the Turkish Government on the northern shores of the Gulf of Ismid, twenty-five miles from Constantinople.

SPAIN

THE recent royal decree instituting promotion by merit in the Army instead of by strict seniority is meeting with opposition among the officers who are not disposed to break a long-established tradition.

HOLLAND

THE Dutch Second Chamber on June 19 voted an appropriation of 1,100,000 guilders for the building of two destroyers and two flotilla vessels destined for Dutch Indian service.

RUSSIA

THE Red fleet's Baltic season has begun, its chief object this year being to test the defenses of the approaches to Leningrad; special attention will be devoted to coordinating the activity of the fleet with aviation and coastal defenses. Commander-in-Chief Zoff is again urging that the fleet be strengthened, advancing the usual argument of the menace of Great Britain in the Baltic. A Red squadron consisting of a battleship, two cruisers and several destroyers is going around the world this Summer.

Dangers of the New German-Soviet Treaty

By ALEXANDER GOURVITCH

Publicist and Special Investigator

LUDWIG QUESEL, in *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Berlin, May, 1926.

THE writer regards the treaty signed at Berlin by M. Krestinsky and Dr. Stresemann as the possible prologue of "a new tragedy for Germany." It entirely changed the international situation, which had been favorable to a settlement of the controversy over the membership of the League of Nations Council in a manner satisfactory both to Germany and to Spain, Poland and Brazil. European opinion regards the treaty as incompatible with the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in particular with Articles XVI and XVII.

The treaty is of considerable advantage to Russia, inasmuch as it assures Germany's abstention from participation in international sanctions in the event of a Russian aggression against Poland. On the other hand, it implies no benefit for Germany, not even from the standpoint of the German Nationalists, who look to war for a new solution of the questions of the Corridor and of Upper Silesia, inasmuch as it provides for Russia's neutrality, not for joint action. This apparent uselessness of the Berlin Treaty for Germany, with its provision, likewise apparently useless, for the maintenance of the Rapallo Treaty, has given rise to the suspicion, voiced by the London *Times*, that both the Rapallo and the Berlin agreements contained secret clauses, in addition to the published provisions.

The result of the Berlin Treaty has been a revival of the Entente Cordiale between France and Great Britain, closer relations between Italy and Poland and between the Little Entente and Poland, and Mussolini's statement on the necessity of a new encirclement of Germany. The principal danger to Germany lies, however, in the fact that the signing of the treaty was apparently in accordance with Great Britain's desires, and that Viscount d'Abernon had urged Stresemann to sign it at an early date, at all events before the September meeting of the League. It is evident that Great Britain encouraged the Berlin Treaty, as she had secretly encouraged in 1922 that of Rapallo, the object in both cases being the same, to prevent conciliation between France and Germany, to force France to make a new bid for British friendship, to utilize the inevitable sentiment of mistrust of Germany for

the promotion of British trade, and, finally, to frustrate the efforts toward the building up of a united continent and to maintain the balance of power system. Great Britain will now take advantage of the treaty to oppose Germany's admission to the League, to annul the work of Locarno, to isolate Germany, and to prevent the formation of a Continental customs union.

The recovery of Europe is only possible on the basis of an understanding between France and Germany. Germany's policy should be calculated to meet those groups in France who advocate a "Continental orientation" and work for a Franco-German alliance, which will make possible the evacuation of the occupied regions, the repeal of the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty, cooperation of French and German industries for the establishment of a European customs union, a settlement of the questions of the Corridor and of Upper Silesia in a manner satisfactory to Germany, and a union of Austria with the Reich in such a form as to bar all danger of aggression against Southeastern Europe. Instead of this, the Berlin Treaty represents an "Eastern orientation," which is such only in appearance, however, while in reality it means a blind subserviency to British designs, just as full of dangers as Germany's preoccupation with British aims before the war, which caused Germany to discard a genuine Eastern policy for the phantom of a colonial agreement with Great Britain and led to Germany's isolation and to the World War.

The Crisis of the League

WILLIAM E. RAPPARD, in *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue de Genève*, May, 1926.

ALTHOUGH it is correct to say, as Briand did, that the crisis over the membership of the Council of the League of Nations is one of growth, it is at the same time one of agony, the agony of the Entente. Its solution lies in the definite and early admission of Germany to cooperation in the work of the League. That should be the first object in view, and one to which all other considerations should be subordinated. All should be done to facilitate Germany's admission, even at the risk of forfeiting the good-will of Poland, Spain, or Brazil. First of all, there

should be elected to the Council in September only such States as would undertake in advance not to oppose the compromise which failed last Spring. Every change in the membership of the Council, besides Germany's admission, should then be deferred as long as possible. Moreover, in order to prevent the recurrence of constitutional crises similar to the present, the writer recommends, first, a better enforcement of the provision of the Covenant under which every member State not represented in the Council shall be invited to delegate a representative whenever a matter of particular interest to it comes up for consideration, and, secondly, an amendment to the Covenant which would do away with the formal distinction in rank between the permanent and the temporary members of the Council, by making the entire membership elective by the Assembly, while assuring, at the same time, the permanent representation of the great powers by making them always eligible to re-election.

Fascism and the Problem of Political Organization

CIOCCHINO CONTRI, in *Critica Fascista*, Rome, June 1, 1926.

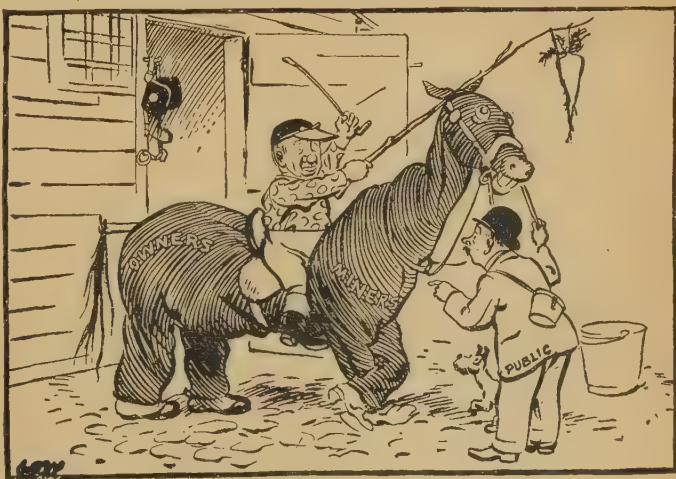
THE Fascist revolution was aimed directly at Parliamentary Government and the system of political parties, and its result, which was made permanent by the election of a Fascist Chamber, was to reduce Parliament to impotence and to render it useless. However, though Parliamentary Government is gone, and though it is true that the representation on an occupational basis will to a great extent provide a foundation for the new Fascist State, there still remains the need of a political representation of the new order created by the Fascist revolution. The new régime cannot be forever dependent upon one exceptional personality to represent it. Fascism has done away with many political needs, but that does not mean that it must lead to a revival of the bureaucratic State of the seventeenth century. The problem to be coped with is the need of a legal and constitutional organization of that deep current which is "ultra-political" inasmuch as it embraces all destroyed parties and is identical with the very life of the nation and of the race. The recently provided representation of groups of producers in the

Senate is insufficient; the notion of the State as merely a technical organization of producers is distinctly Marxian and is the antithesis of Fascist ideals and doctrines. As to the Grand Council of the Fascisti, it may well become some day the representative body of New Italy, but the methods of adapting it to the functions of a permanent State agency present an important and delicate problem, which should be made the object of serious study.

For a Revision of French Policy in Syria

ROGER LABOUNE, in *Le Correspondant*, Paris, May 25, 1926.

THE present situation in Syria is a result of the frustration of Arab aspirations for national unity, which had been traditionally favored by France since the days of Mehemed Ali and had been encouraged by the promises of the Allied powers during the war. The Sykes-Picot agreement, dividing Arabia into five States, instead of constituting it as one vast empire, the opposition between France and Great Britain in the East, and the inconsistent policies of both, have caused the Arabs to break away from European supervision. The Syrian Nationalists are now in a position to claim that the pledges made to them during the war have been broken, and that the services their people rendered to the allied cause have been forgotten. They maintain that it was thanks to the attitude assumed by the Arab people that the holy war proclaimed by the Caliph failed, that undisturbed order prevailed in the Islamic colonies of the Entente powers all through the war, in contrast with the



Why not give the back end a smack, Stanley?

—The Star, London



THE FRENCH DEBT SETTLEMENT

Mr. Mellon: Suppose it is the bird that lays the golden eggs?
—*L'Oeuvre, Paris*

present disorder, that Turkey's move against Suez was checked, and that the Ottoman army broke down. They admit that France's prestige in Syria was immense, among both Moslems and Christians. Yet no one wanted a foreign invasion, except those in the pay of foreigners. What the Syrians wanted were advisers, technicians, engineers; instead they got functionaries, judges, prefects. Arabia, like the old Polish State, was divided into five portions, which rivalry between the powers later reduced to three, and then Syria itself was subdivided into four or five zones, and its ethnic frontier has been constantly manipulated. The right of self-determination, the Wilsonian doctrine, arbitration and protection of minorities, have all proved so many illusory theories, which have collapsed like a house of cards when confronted with material interests. Under Turkish rule the Syrians had representatives in Parliament, they supplied ministers, generals, high officials. Now their country has been made a mandate territory against their will, they have been treated like the regions of Togo, the Cameroons or the Hottentot country, while Turkey, right next to them, has been left free and independent, though a backward country in comparison with Syria. The Syrians demand democracy, with universal suffrage, the right of diplomatic representation, the limitation of the authority of the mandatory power to administrative and economic matters, and, on the other hand, the right of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine to form a common government as a first step toward a union with Iraq and Arabia.

In reply to these nationalist demands, the

official French policy maintains, first, that the whole agitation has been due to a few effendis and adventurers, while the mass of the people desire nothing but peace and order. It is further pointed out that France has accomplished too much for Syria and has too much at stake there to let the country be ruined. This policy, however, betrays the lack of a realistic spirit. Inasmuch as the mass of the Syrian people blindly follow the leaders, political wisdom demands that a settlement be reached with them. And since the ingratitude of the Orientals is a fact, it should be taken into account as such. Above all, French diplomacy should no longer be an aux-

iliary of financial interests. The situation is full of dangers: there is the menace from Turkey in the North, from Transjordan in the East, from Palestine in the South; the fear of international Communist propaganda allying itself with all nationalist movements in Asia; there is the unrest in the African colonies—a territory of much greater value to France than the Levant—and, finally, there is Mussolini's program of expansion. A settlement with the Syrians is, therefore, an urgent necessity. Economic penetration is not necessarily conditioned upon occupation or political domination, as is shown by the influence which France formerly enjoyed in Turkey and still enjoys in Egypt. Syria cannot be abandoned, of course, and even less can another power be allowed to establish itself there. To oppose the extremist demands in this regard, the blockade will always prove a formidable weapon when applied against a country living by sea trade only. But the terms of the mandate are flexible enough to permit of meeting the reasonable demands of the people. A revision of French policy should include a change of relationship between France and Syria to one based upon a treaty of alliance, the granting of diplomatic representation to the Syrians and admission of Syria to the League of Nations. Above all, an end should be put to the Balkanization of the Levant and to the antagonism between French and British policies, which only serves to encourage militant nationalism and to foment disorder.

CURRENT HISTORY—PART II.

The Historians' Chronicle of the World

By the Board of Current History Associates

PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1926

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The Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Chairman of the Board of Current History Associates

AMONG several significant questions that have come to the front in the last days of the recent session of Congress, such as prohibition, banking, apportionment, senatorial primaries, the most alarming is the appearance of an agricultural bloc of Senators and Representatives, backed up by an immense and exasperated body of farmer voters. Prohibition is taking the form of a bitter resentment between city and open country. The agricultural demands are again setting East against West and South.

In many respects the new line-up resembles the Populist movement of 1890 to 1900. Its centre is a formal third party, the Progressives. Its field is the big West, with some sympathy in the South. Its object is to get money aid from the Federal Government. Its gospel is that protection to American industries must logically and practically include protection to the basic industry of agriculture. The Republican Party, as the guardian of protection, is called upon to save the farmer or take the consequences.

Everybody who is in touch with farming East, West, South and Far West, realizes how serious are conditions. Part of

the trouble is due to the "marginal farmer," the man with a family trying to earn a living on poor land, vainly competing not only with his better situated neighbor, but with the Canadian and Argentinian. The medium farmer is not much better off, except as he protects himself by cooperative selling organizations, such as the citrus fruit men in California. The average staple crop farmer, who produces hay, grain, beets, cotton, cannot hold up his end without plenty of modern farm machinery, and machinery is costly and breakable and wears out rapidly. The heavy, large-scale farmer, carrying on his farm as a business enterprise, backed by capital, is shut in by his labor supply and perhaps imports Mexican families who will furnish a new and permanent race problem.

Hence the agricultural pressure on Congress is certain to increase and take on a sectional character. While we are trying to mold the population into one Americanization, new rivalries appear, new geographical consciousness. The old problem revives—how to keep a hundred million people—soon to be a hundred and fifty millions—employed, contented, patriotic, advancing under one national government.

Fight for Permanent Seats on League Council

Viscount Cecil Offers Compromise—League Ends Control of Austrian and Hungarian Finances—What the Disarmament Conference Accomplished

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

Librarian, Princeton University

THE fortieth session of the Council of the League of Nations, which opened on June 7, was compelled to make a decision the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. Was the theory of its organization, as written in the Covenant, to be maintained; or was

it to admit the right of member States to demand permanent seats at its table? If such a right were established, the Council almost inevitably would cease to play its present rôle and would become a body not very different from the Assembly.

Since the meeting in March, a special

committee, headed by Viscount Cecil, had been struggling with the question; and, in its report, which is to be acted upon by the Assembly in September, it attempted to find a solution that would preserve the present status and at the same time conciliate the feelings of those States which are unwilling to admit that they are not powers of the first class. The number of members, it said, should be increased to fourteen. Five seats, those of the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, with a vacant position for Germany, are to be of permanent tenure; nine seats are to be elective. Three nations are to be elected for three-year terms at each annual meeting of the Assembly. Although, in general, member States may not immediately be re-elected, the Assembly is empowered, by a two-thirds vote, to renew the membership of one of the three whose terms expire. This provision creates a group of three semi-permanent members; and it was hoped, by this means, that Spain and Brazil might be contented. The committee agreed further that three seats ought always to be held by South America.

The action of the committee, however, failed to meet the demands of Spain and Brazil; and, at the opening session, they showed their displeasure by the absence of their official representatives. De Mello Franco of Brazil was reported to be ill; and Quinones de Leon of Spain had remained in Madrid, his place being taken by the Chargé d'Affaires at Berne. After several days of vigorous discussion, largely outside the formal sessions, Spain announced on June 10 that she withdrew her opposition to the amendment of Article IV of the Covenant permitting the reconstitution of the Council. This action legalized and made effective the work of the committee. Further than this, Spain has not formally stated her position; but both her Foreign Minister and King Alfonso have threatened that, if her demand for a permanent seat be not met, she will withdraw from the League.

De Mello Franco on the same day presented the resignation by Brazil of her seat on the Council in a long document in which the League was accused of departing from the ideals of its organization and of becoming "an association under the

dominance of force" rather than one "designed to achieve the reign of justice among peoples." Four days later Brazil resigned from the League. This act will, however, not take effect until 1928 in accordance with a provision in the Covenant requiring two years' notice before resignation. The new Brazilian Government, taking office in November will thus, if it thinks fit, have an opportunity to reverse the decision.

AUSTRIAN AND HUNGARIAN FINANCES

The League is to be congratulated on the successful termination of the financial reconstruction of Austria and of Hungary. The task seemed well-nigh hopeless, but the vigor and intelligence displayed by Jeremiah Smith in Hungary and by Dr. Zimmermann in Austria have accomplished the impossible. The graceful gesture with which Mr. Smith refused to accept either salary or expenses during his mission, and devoted the entire amount of his honorarium, \$100,000, to Hungarian welfare has been countered in an equally gracious way by the proposal of the Government to establish scholarships for the education of Hungarian boys in America. It would be unduly optimistic to assert, however, that either country is in sound financial condition. So long as the political and the economic situation have so little in common, only the most careful administration can maintain what has been gained.

LOCARNO RATIFICATION

By a vote of 272 to 6, the French Senate on June 4 ratified the Locarno treaties. With the admission of Germany to the League in September, the pacts will become effective. In his speech, during the debate, Premier Briand dwelt strongly on the powerlessness of Governments in dealing with the forces that cause wars: "Whenever public opinion is unchained, the chiefs of State are no longer masters of their own decisions. But if there exist some means whereby a third party, with sufficient moral authority, can intervene, then anything is possible. Beside this political Locarno there must be economic Locarnos, for in commerce there are always the germs of war. When a people has not the free disposition of its economic



RETURNING THE BRICK

—Chicago Tribune

and financial powers, there exists a tyranny, from which it must at any price free itself."

THE BULGARIAN LOAN

After a careful investigation, the Council of the League authorized Bulgaria to borrow \$2,500,000 to assist in the rehabilitation of her refugees. Aside from over 8,000 Russians and Armenians, she is compelled to care for over 300,000 of her own nationals who have been expelled from Turkey and the other Balkan States. The condition of these refugees is most pitiable. Whatever property they may have had, they were compelled to leave behind. Without money or employment they have proved to be a burden that the Government cannot bear without assistance.

GERMAN INDEMNITIES

In a report covering the nine months ending May 31, Mr. Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations, expressed the opin-

ion that "throughout the entire period Germany has been financially sound and some tendency toward recovery is now beginning to appear." During the nine months, Germany paid in to the Transfer Committee 821,425,066 marks, approximately 32 per cent. of the amount being in cash. During the year ending Dec. 31, 1925, the net profits on the German railroads, after meeting all reserve and interest payments, were 818,000,000 marks. Neither the railway bonds nor the 5,000,000,000 marks of industrial debentures have as yet been marketed.

The conference of the three foreign Ministers, Benès (Czechoslovakia), Mitilinineu (Rumania) and Nintchitch (Yugoslavia), called at Bled in Yugoslavia on June 17, came to an

abrupt end in consequence of the recall of Benès. Very little is known of the result of the two days spent in discussion. The official communiqué reported "perfect accordance of the views" of the three Ministers, but this statement may perhaps be unduly optimistic.

Italy is challenging the supremacy of French influence and France is looking at Mussolini's movements with suspicion and alarm. Rumania has recently arranged for an Italian loan of 200,000,000 lire to be used largely in paying for Italian built submarines.

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Although the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament is supposed to deal with the technical rather than with the political aspects of the problem, the debates at Geneva, during the past month, have shown how impossible it is to divorce them. At times it has seemed as if any sort of an agreement were impossible. That resolu-

tions have finally been passed is an evidence of the value of such conferences in educating both the participants and the nationals whom they represent. While the decisions reached impose no legal obligation on any of the States concerned, the moral effect of the agreement is very great.

The resolutions thus far adopted provide that the number of trained soldiers actually in service must be the primary standard of comparison; but that other factors, such as material on hand, trained reserves, facilities for mobilization, and resources, industrial and financial, must be taken into account.

France, Italy and the Little Entente were outvoted on the question of trained reserves, and on the other hand, Great Britain and the United States, with their adherents, were defeated in their attempt to secure the adoption of the naval standards which formed the basis of the Washington Conference. The majority, led by France, held that the total tonnage, rather than tonnage by classes, should measure naval strength. This reflects a desire on their part to build up their fleets of submarines and commerce destroyers. A minority report signed by Great Britain, the United

States, Argentina and Chile was to come up for discussion at a later session.

The delegates of the United States have given notice that, in carrying out any program of limitation, we will not admit either supervision or inspection by any international body.

HEALTH CONGRESS

The labors of the World Health Congress, which concluded its sittings in Paris on June 11, resulted in the drafting of a greatly strengthened convention relating to the international control of contagious diseases, which was signed by the representatives of fifty-nine nations, including the United States.

On account of the opposition of this country, the proposal to turn over the work of the Paris Health Bureau to an organ of the League was defeated; and that body is to remain as the agent of international sanitary control. The Health Section of the League is to maintain its organization for investigation and education.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The statement issued by the International Chamber of Commerce on June 28, calling attention to the gravity of the



Barber: "Shave, sir?"
Mars: "No, haircut!"

—Daily Express, London

present economic situation in Europe and urging that immediate steps be taken to remedy the conditions which are hampering economic revival, emphasizes the importance of the coming International Economic Conference. The Chamber declares that "the present economic conditions, due principally to the war, are rapidly becoming unbearable, and prompt remedies are essential if eventually an economic disturbance, which would affect all countries in succession, is to be avoided." It expresses its conviction that stabilization of currencies is absolutely necessary; that excessive tariffs and prohibitions of importation and exportation

are dangerous; that transportation of persons and of merchandise is obstructed; and that customs tariffs and classifications lack clearness and uniformity.

All these questions, and many like them, are being studied by the Preparatory Commission and will be discussed at the Conference. Whether Europe is as yet ready for the customs union, proposed by the international committee of which Professor Irving Fisher of Yale is the Chairman, is doubtful; but the realization of the necessity for radical action is rapidly growing, and we may yet have the economic Locarno, for which Briand has been pleading.

[THE UNITED STATES]

Congress Kills Farm Relief Program

Investigation of Expenditures in Pennsylvania Primary Election and of Anti-Saloon League Funds—Sixty-ninth Congress Ends First Session

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

Lecturer on American History, Yale University

THE first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress adjourned on July 3. The Senate will reconvene as a court of impeachment on Nov. 10 to try the case of Federal Judge English of Illinois, but the House of Representatives will not meet until Dec. 6 unless summoned by the President for an earlier date.

Although only a few hundred of the more than 16,000 bills and resolutions introduced were passed, the legislative record of the session was nevertheless considerable. The revenue act, lowering the rates on certain classes of incomes, exempting some 2,000,000 persons from the operation of the income tax by raising the exemption limit, and readjusting or abolishing a considerable number of other taxes, effected an estimated annual saving of some \$385,000,000. Arrangements for the funding of the war debts owed to the United States were practically completed, the ratification of the agreement with France, however, having been delayed by the Senate, pending action by the French Parliament. Other important items of

legislation included the ratification by the Senate of the protocol for the adhesion of the United States to the World Court; a five-year program of aviation expansion for the army and navy at a cost of \$229,000,000, together with provision for the development of civil aviation under the supervision of the Department of Commerce; an appropriation of \$165,000,000 for the construction of Federal buildings, to be spread over the next five years; considerable increases in pensions, including some \$60,000,000 per annum for Civil War veterans and their dependents, \$18,500,000 for Spanish War veterans and their widows, and \$15,000,000 for additional compensation to soldiers of the World War; the Watson-Parker act abolishing the Railway Labor Board and substituting a mediation board for the adjustment of disputes regarding wages or working conditions between railways and their employes, and an act authorizing the deportation of aliens who violate American laws.

Among the measures which failed to

receive final action, and which will regularly go over to the second session in December, were the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey, a bill for the Federal control of radio broadcasting, the McFadden branch banking bill, and bills increasing the salaries of Federal Judges and adding to the number of such Judges in various districts. The recommendation of a special commission for the leasing of the Federal property at Muscle Shoals, Ala., to private parties was not acted upon, and the nominations of Sherman Lowell and Edgar Broussard as members of the Tariff Commission were laid over until December by the Senate. The nominations of F. Trubee Davison of New York and Professor Edward P. Warner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as Assistant Secretaries of War and the Navy, respectively, in charge of aviation were, however, confirmed by the Senate on July 2.

President Coolidge followed the usual custom of spending the last hour of the session at the Capitol in order to sign bills, the Attorney General and other members of the Cabinet being also at hand to give advice when needed. Of the ninety bills signed during the final hour the most important was the deficiency appropriation bill, carrying appropriations of \$45,000,000, including \$2,900,000 for prohibition enforcement. Six bills, none of them of general significance, were retained by the President for further consideration. A bill to validate certain leases of unallotted Indian lands in Arizona was vetoed on July 2 on the ground that it would virtually validate the leases of twenty large oil corporations while excluding some 400 others, and that the attempt to "decide by legislation a question which is pending in court brings the bill into a position of doubtful propriety."

Popular interest in the routine proceedings of Congress, and in legislation already passed or practically assured of passage, was to a large extent overshadowed during the last two weeks of the session



"THE OPERATION WAS SUCCESSFUL. BUT—!"
—Sioux City Tribune

by the political tension which the debate in the Senate over the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill developed, by the revelations of the activities of the Anti-Saloon League brought out in connection with a Senate investigation of the recent Senatorial primaries in Pennsylvania, and by evidences of increased anxiety on the part of the Republicans regarding the outcome of the November elections.

The McNary-Haugen bill, a modified form of the Haugen farm relief bill, which was defeated in the House on May 21, was finally rejected by the Senate on June 24, after spirited debate, by a close vote of thirty-nine to forty-five. Party lines were split, an analysis of the vote showing twenty-three Republicans, fifteen Democrats and one Farmer-Labor Senator favoring the bill, and twenty-four Republicans and twenty-one Democrats opposing it. An amendment offered by Senator Norris of Nebraska, Republican, the effect of which was to put cotton and corn on the same footing as other agricultural products, so far as the marketing of the surplus with

Federal aid was concerned, aroused strong opposition among the Senators from the cotton States, and their failure to form an expected coalition with the farm bloc Senators of the West defeated the measure.

The immediate consequence of the vote was an outburst of criticism of President Coolidge for his failure to support the farm relief apparently desired by the West. The irritation was not allayed by the announcement on June 25 by Mr. Coolidge, who had opposed the Haugen bill from the first on the ground that its principle was unsound, that he was in favor of a relief program which should include the creation of a Farm Marketing Board "whose duty is to secure a better adjustment of agricultural production, the larger development and consolidation of farmers' marketing associations under their own control," and "the placing of \$100,000,000 of public money for working capital at the disposal of such farmers' controlled marketing associations, through such Farm Board, for the purpose of better stabilizing their markets, improving their marketing machinery, and eliminating waste in distribution." These features, the adoption of which "would support the whole of the agricultural industry" of the country and "not any particular section or segment," Mr. Coolidge professed to find in the bill introduced by Senator Fess of Ohio, Republican, on June 16 as an amendment of the Tincher bill which had passed the House on Jan. 25.

On June 29, after a heated and disorderly discussion which "ranged far afield from the subject of agriculture," the Senate, by a vote of twenty-six to fifty-four, rejected the Fess bill, and later in the day adopted the Tincher bill. "Part of the time," a newspaper correspondent reported, "the body was in an uproar of confusion, with Senators calling out that they did not know what they were voting on, with Vice President Dawes rapping vigorously to maintain order, and Senators on the floor massed at times in the aisles." Two amendments voted by the Senate were accepted by the House the next day without a division. The net result of months of persistent agitation for farm relief, with proposed grants from the Federal Treas-

ury ranging as high as \$375,000,000 was the establishment of a division of cooperative marketing in the Department of Agriculture and the appropriation of \$225,000 for its support.

The practically complete breakdown of the farm relief program, including the final plan of the Administration, as well as those of the corn and cotton States, gave occasion for renewed criticism of President Coolidge and his policy. The charge was freely made that the President had deserted the farmers and lost control of his party in Congress, and by so doing had materially increased the likelihood of serious Republican reverses in the Fall elections. The defeat of L. B. Hanna, the Administration candidate, by Senator Gerald P. Nye, an insurgent Republican, in the Republican Senatorial primary in North Dakota on June 30, was pointed to as further evidence of a Republican revolt which was gathering headway in the West and Northwest, and which had already shown itself in the defeat of Administration candidates for the Senate in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Oregon and Iowa.

Political observers at Washington were in general agreed that the session of Congress which had just closed had been marked by lack of leadership from any source, that the Republican Party in Congress had become badly divided, and that the failure of the farm relief program had been due in considerable measure to unskillful management on the part of the President. It was pointed out, on the other hand, that the attitude of the Western and Northwestern States was not to be taken too seriously, since they had more than once been found in opposition to the Administration in "off" years, that there was as yet no indication that the insurgent Republicans were more than holding their own, and that in any case the defeat of certain Republican candidates at primary elections afforded no proof of diminished regard for Mr. Coolidge in the country as a whole. The economy policy of the Administration and its success in negotiating settlements of the foreign debts were still, it was urged, widely approved, while the forcible objections which Mr. Coolidge had made to the principle of the Haugen bill

would, it was believed, tend to strengthen him with commercial and industrial interests.

On the eve of his departure from Washington, on July 6, for a Summer sojourn at White Pine Camp on Osgood Lake in the Adirondacks, President Coolidge let it be known that he was "very well satisfied with the work of the Congressional session" that had just ended, and that "one of the reasons for the success of the session was that the Senate and House assumed their own responsibility and undertook to function as an independent branch of the Government without too great subservience to the Executive." These statements were interpreted in some quarters as an intimation that members of Congress who were seeking re-election would be expected to stand or fall by their own record and that of Congress, and should not make the president an issue in their campaigns.

PROHIBITION AND "SLUSH FUNDS"

Startling revelations of the lavish use of money in the recent Republican Senatorial primary in Pennsylvania, and of the political activities of the Anti-Saloon League of America and other prohibition organizations have been made at the hearings before the Senate Campaign Fund Investigating Committee which began at Washington on June 9. Aggregate expenditures of close to \$3,000,000 on behalf of the three Republican candidates, of which more than half was to be set down to the account of Senator Pepper, more than \$600,000 to that of Congressman Vare, the successful candidate, and about \$195,000 to the account of Governor Pinchot, were disclosed by the respective candidates and by persons connected with their campaigns. One of the witnesses, a Pinchot worker, who was called to support allegations of wholesale buying of votes for Pepper and



TAKING ALL THE GLORY OUT OF IT

—Des Moines Register

Vare, described the scenes at the Pepper and Vare headquarters at Pittsburgh, when the workers and watchers were paid off, as resembling a run on a bank. Extended testimony was also offered regarding allegations of false registration of voters, the hiring of thousands of watchers in behalf of the Pepper candidacy, the intimidation of voters by public officials and the police, and unsecured loans to candidates by so-called Mellon banks at Pittsburgh. Payment for a newspaper advertisement containing a forged letter signed by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, was admitted by one of the Pepper managers, although it was denied that the letter was known to be a forgery until after it was printed.

The prominence of the prohibition issue in the Pennsylvania primary led naturally to a broadening of the inquiry to include the political activities and financial operations of the Anti-Saloon League and kindred agencies. Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel and legislative superintendent of the league, whose examination began on

June 17 and extended over several days, told the committee that the expenditures of the league for the five years from Jan. 1, 1920, to Dec. 31, 1925, not counting campaign expenses or the amounts disbursed by State organizations and branches, had amounted to \$3,430,285, while its total expenditures for the thirty years of its activity he estimated at more than \$35,000,000. He admitted, under a searching cross-examination, conducted principally by Senator Reed of Missouri, Chairman of the committee, that the league had taken the leading part in framing the Volstead act and securing its adoption by Congress, and had exerted itself actively to secure a drastic enforcement of the act and to defeat legislation hostile to prohibition. A list of members of Congress who had received pay from the league for speeches in behalf of prohibition was given by Mr. Wheeler, and following its publication most of the members whose names appeared allowed themselves to be quoted in the press as defending their action. A strong effort was made by Mr. Wheeler to prevent the publication of the names of contributors to the funds of the league, obtained by auditors who examined the books of the organization under the direction of the committee, but the committee overruled his protest so far as to make public, on July 6, the names of contributors of \$500 or more since Jan. 1, 1925. A similar list of contributors to the Association Opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment from 1921 to the present time was also given out.

In addition to its revelations of the activities of the Anti-Saloon League, the hearings uncovered the further interesting fact that in 1923, when the Pennsylvania Legislature refused the request of Governor Pinchot for money with which to enforce prohibition in that State, a special bureau with two Assistant Attorneys General, one designated by Governor Pinchot and the other by the State Women's Christian Temperance Union, was established and maintained with funds raised by the latter organization. A "special counsel" to Governor Pinchot, whose salary was paid from W. C. T. U. funds, testified on June 28 that he and his assistants regularly

bought liquor in suspected places with money derived from the same society.

It was announced on June 27 that the committee would extend its inquiry, during the recess of Congress, to the recent Senatorial primary in Illinois, where large sums were alleged to have been spent in the McKinley-Smith campaign, and to "expenditures made in behalf of prohibition or in any phase of politics by churches, the Ku Klux Klan and temperance organizations, as well as the Association Opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment and any other anti-prohibition bodies."

The facts brought out by the committee were without effect so far as prohibition legislation was concerned, neither the Goff bill, drawn up by the Treasury Department with a view to strengthening enforcement, nor any of a number of bills and resolutions designed to liberalize the Volstead act, having been acted upon by either house before adjournment. A resolution agreed to by the Senate Committee on Rules and aimed at Senator-elect Vare, declaring it to be "the sense of the Senate" that a Senator-elect whose expenditures in a primary or election contest exceeded \$25,000 should not be eligible to a seat, died during the closing hours of the session after three attempts to bring it to a vote. It was stated on June 24 that the cost of prohibition enforcement for the ensuing fiscal year, including an additional item of \$2,931,010 carried by the deficiency appropriation bill, would be \$29,120,122. An attempt in the House on June 29 to defeat the supplementary appropriation asked for mustered only thirty-three votes in its support.

On July 8 the United States Circuit Court of Appeals wiped out the "twelve-mile limit," as applied to American vessels. This means that American ships suspected of carrying liquor may be seized and searched anywhere. The opinion, concurred in by Judges Henry M. Rogers and Learned Hand, also upholds the right of the Government to search and seize suspected ships of foreign registry within the twelve-mile limit.

BUSINESS AND FINANCES

The completion of the first six months of 1926, coinciding as it did with the com-

pletion of the fiscal year of the Government, afforded occasion for a general review of the financial and business situation and for more or less comprehensive forecasts of the immediate future. Experts in such matters were generally agreed that the predictions of business depression which were freely made earlier in the year had been overdrawn and that, while business as a whole had undergone a process of slowing down, general conditions were healthy and the outlook hopeful. Treasury receipts for the fiscal year showed a budget surplus of \$377,767,816, and a gross reduction in the public debt of \$872,977,572. Unexpectedly large receipts from internal revenue taxes, together with payments of instalments of foreign debts enabled the Treasury to retire in June approximately \$333,500,000 of short term certificates of indebtedness without resort to borrowing, a feat which has had no parallel since the close of the World War. Notwithstanding the large surplus, however, Mr. Coolidge, in his address before the business organization of the Government on June 21, declined to raise hopes of further tax reduction, and warned business against anticipating such reduction until the revenue-producing effect of the present revenue act was more fully known.

Business reports at the end of June were in the main favorable. A slight seasonal decline of production in basic industries in May was accompanied by an increased volume of wholesale and retail trade in May and the early part of June, while June failures showed a smaller aggregate liability than at any time since September, 1923. A decrease of buying power was, however, noted in the farming sections of the West, although general trade conditions there were not regarded as unsatisfactory. The National Association of Manufacturers reported on July 3 that industry in thirty basic groups was operating



TOO BIG A STEP

—Chicago Tribune

at 84 per cent, of its capacity. No serious reactions took place in the stock market, and the average prices of industrial and railway securities continued to advance.

OF GENERAL INTEREST

Two investigations, in addition to that of the Senate Campaign Funds Committee, are to be carried on during the Summer by direction of the Senate. A special committee will investigate the office of the Alien Property Custodian, and a subcommittee will inquire into charges of improper treatment of Americans in Cuba. Senator Borah is Chairman of both of these bodies. An inquiry and report by the Department of Commerce and the Shipping Board regarding a policy which shall insure "an adequate and permanent merchant marine" have also been ordered by the Senate. The managers appointed by the House for the impeachment trial of Judge English are expected to meet from time to time during the recess.

A strike of textile workers at Passaic, N. J., which has been in progress for several months, was denounced by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on July 1 as communistic in

principle and purpose, and unworthy of financial support of organized labor except with the object of relieving distress among the strikers and their families.

Forty thousand cloak makers in New York City went on strike on July 1 at the call of a committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The virtual abolition of the primary as at present conducted, and a return to the convention system in the selection of candidates for Governor and United States Senator, were advocated in the platform adopted on June 29 by the New Jersey Republican State Convention at Trenton. The Democratic State Convention, which met at Trenton on the same day, charged that the action of the Republicans was due to alarm "at the active interest in primary contests of the women, who cannot be controlled," and adopted a platform upholding the primary.

Following a ruling by the Department of Justice that the Government did not have the right to control radio broadcasting and other activities of the industry, unless voted special powers by Congress, Secretary Hoover appealed to radio broadcasters to cooperate in order to avert chaos in the air. The control of wave lengths was the most important need stressed by Secretary Hoover.

On July 9 Captain Elmer E. Crowley was summarily removed from the United States Shipping Board by a vote of 4 to 2. Captain Crowley received no reason for his removal, but intimated that it might have been caused by his recent opposition to the sale of five steamers of the Admiral Oriental Line to the Dollar steamship interests. Brig. Gen. Albert Clayton Dalton was immediately elected to fill the vacancy.

Praise of the Declaration of Independence as "in its main features * * * a great spiritual document," and warning that "if we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us we must be like-minded as the fathers who created it," were characteristic notes of a speech in which President Coolidge officially opened the Sesquicentennial International Exposition at Philadelphia on July 5. It was announced on July 6 that the Presbyterian Church had withdrawn its support from

the Exposition and abandoned the plan of making an exhibit because the Exposition was to be open on Sundays. Protests on similar grounds have been made by a number of other religious bodies.

A magazine of the United States Naval Ammunition Depot at Lake Denmark, N. J., was struck by lightning on July 10, with the result that a series of terrific explosions occurred which destroyed the station and partially wrecked the Army Ammunition Depot adjoining it. The property loss in the neighboring villages was very large, and the list of dead and injured reached serious proportions. Many protests against the practice of building arsenals near populous communities have resulted.

The Philippines

An act of the Philippine Legislature making it unlawful for any individual or business firm to keep accounts in any language other than English, Spanish, or a local dialect was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court on June 7. The original plaintiffs in the case were Chinese merchants, some 12,000 of whom are reported to be engaged in business in the Philippines.

The United States House of Representatives on June 21, passed a bill requiring biennial inspection of the Government of the Philippine Islands by a committee of both houses of Congress, consisting of two members of the Senate and three of the House.

Representative Robert L. Bacon introduced on June 11 a bill providing for the removal of the Moro Provinces from the jurisdiction of the present Philippine Government and granting them a separate form of administration, under direct authority of the United States, with a Governor and a legislative council, including three Moro members. The purpose of this, as stated by Mr. Bacon, is partly to alleviate the condition of the Moros, who are oppressed by the Filipinos and denied any share in the Government, and partly to pave the way for the establishment of a rubber industry in the archipelago to supply the needs of American manufacturers. Strong protests against the bill have been registered by General Aguinaldo and Pedro Quevara, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines.

Mexico Enforces Religious Regulations

New Decree Passed—Washington Refuses to Recognize Chamorro Government in Nicaragua—Pan-American Congress Held in Panama—President Borno of Haiti Visits the United States—Senate Amends Porto Rican Laws

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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J. LLOYD MECHAM

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EVENTS in Mexico during the past month were, in comparison with those of the months immediately preceding, devoid of critical incident in international relations as well as in internal affairs. Nevertheless, the untiring efforts of the Mexican Government in enforcing the Constitution in its entirety continued to agitate the country.

The determination of the Calles Government to enforce the religious and educational clauses of the Constitution is unweakened. The President, on June 4, answered a letter addressed to him by Archbishop Mora y Del Rio, in which the prelate attempted to justify the actions of rebellious clerics. The religious laws, declared President Calles with great vehemence, will be maintained with firmness, and any act of rebellion or lack of respect for the authorities will be punished without consideration for the position of the offender. "I wish you to understand now and always," he said, "that agitation within and without this country will not alter the purpose of the Government."

On July 3 the Mexican Government issued a decree of thirty-three articles, signed by President Calles and Secretary of the Interior Tejada on June 14 and to become effective on July 31, putting "teeth" into the articles of the Constitution covering the activities of priests and ministers. (See CURRENT HISTORY, July, 1926, page 503, for text.) In addition to the provisions already existing, all religious orders are definitely dissolved, the wearing of distinctive garb by the clergy outside the churches is forbidden, and definite and severe penalties are specified for every pos-

sible infringement of the regulations. This has, of course, raised a storm of protest from Catholic authorities throughout the world, and Pope Pius sent out a circular letter on July 5 urging all Catholics to unite in special prayers on Aug. 1 for the cessation of the Mexican Government's persecution of the Catholics. Many prominent Mexican Catholics have declared their intention of resisting the decree.

During the month of June numerous churches were closed because of refusal to abide by the religious clauses of the Constitution. On June 17 the Bishop of Tamaulipas was arrested and churches in the diocese were closed because of his refusal to order the registration of the priests. Churches were also closed in Durango, Morelia and Jalapa. The Governor of Hidalgo was ordered to allow the churches to reopen in that State providing that within one month the priests registered and proved their Mexican nationality.

The State Congress of Chihuahua on June 8 passed a law limiting the number of priests or ministers of any religion to one to every 9,000 inhabitants. The use of Federal troops was necessary to quell disturbances in and outside the Congressional Hall while the religious measures were being discussed, and Rafael Marquez y Soto, President of the El Paso branch of the Mexican National League of Religious Defense, was arrested "for insulting the Government" because he wrote to the Governor of Chihuahua in protest against the muzzling of public opinion to obtain the passage of the regulations.

On June 13 the Mexican Consul General in New York issued a statement of-

ficially defending the expulsion from Mexico of Mgr. Caruana, Papal Delegate to Mexico and Bishop of Porto Rico. The press was furnished with photostat copies of what purported to be the declaration made by Mgr. Caruana to the Mexican immigration inspector at Nuevo Laredo on March 4. The declaration shows that the prelate described himself as a "Protestant," and stated that he was going to Mexico just as a "tourist." Mgr. Caruana, in refuting the charge, stated that his declaration to the immigration inspector had been filled out by that official who asked questions and wrote in the answers. He denied that the signature on the declaration was his. A letter sent by Caruana on June 4 to Secretary Kellogg was made public on June 14 as a result of the charges of the Mexican Consul General. In the letter the Bishop detailed his entrance into Mexico to show that he entered legally. He accused the Mexican Government of violating assurances given the American Ambassador, and criticized the State Department for its failure to protect him. Charges were made on July 9 by Judge A. J. Talley, prominent Catholic spokesman, that the Caruana declaration was a forgery, which Arturo Elias, Mexican Consul General in New York denied on July 10.

A delegation of about 500 Mexicans headed by Archbishop Orozco y Jimenez attended the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago. In the deliberations of the congress, the problem of the Church in Mexico was carefully avoided.

The enforcement of the regulations concerning private schools continued to result in the closing of schools. In Sonora five schools were closed under orders from Mexico City. It was also reported that two Catholic colleges and the Catholic schools and convents at Magdalena, Guaymas, and Hermosillo were to be put under the Government ban. An American-owned model school in Torreon was closed because of failure to comply with the Constitutional provision that instruction in private schools must be laical. In Queretaro a woman and a soldier were killed during a clash between civilians and soldiers growing out of popular demonstrations against the closing of several private schools.

The Department of Education has prohibited teachers and professors from taking part in politics. Teachers who mix in politics will be immediately discharged. This act is justified, the department declares, because of the alarming number of professors who have been taking an active part in politics without resigning as teachers.

When the petroleum controversy with Great Britain and the United States was thought allayed, it was revived by a country which until then had refrained from the contest. On June 16, the Minister of the Netherlands, Baron de Asbeck, presented a note to the Foreign Minister relative to the petroleum law. He declared that Dutch interests in Mexico reserved their rights. It is not expected that the Dutch note will give rise to difficulties, but that the settlements with the United States and Great Britain will serve as precedents. Oil companies which have been founded under Mexican law and which have offices in Mexico are making the necessary changes in their statutes to comply with the provisions of the new petroleum and land laws.

On June 7 the Mexican Government issued a circular ordering foreigners to register their property holdings with the Foreign Minister at once. These declarations are necessary in order that foreigners may maintain their property rights under Article 27 of the Constitution. Section I of Article 27 declares that only Mexican citizens can acquire property rights in land and water, and obtain concessions, but that foreigners may be conceded similar rights provided they agree before the Minister of Foreign Relations to consider themselves as Mexican citizens in so far as their holdings are concerned and not to invoke the protection of their own Governments in such cases.

Diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Mexican Governments regarding the land and oil laws has seemingly come to a halt; at least, the public has been kept in ignorance of developments. The Mexican policy to which President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg are committed for the present has been described as "vigilant patience." Were it not for abhorrent memories it might be

called "watchful waiting." Washington, without acquiescing in the Mexican Government's declarations regarding the alien land laws, simply remains hopeful that things will sooner or later grow better.

A supplementary extradition convention between the United States and Mexico, which was signed last December, was ratified on June 21 by the Senate. It adds to extraditable offenses violations of narcotic laws and statutes relating to the illicit manufacture of or traffic in substances poisonous or injurious to health.

Reports tend to indicate a returning material prosperity in Mexico. According to Oscar K. Goll, Executive Secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Commerce and Industry in Mexico, the country is enjoying the most flourishing conditions it has experienced in several years. The petroleum industry has taken on increased activity, and Mexico now ranks as the world's second producer of oil. At present Mexico produces more than 1,936,024 barrels daily. Industries are flourishing as indicated by 112 sugar mills and refineries, 130 cotton textile mills, 36 woolen textile mills, 75 shoe factories, 68 hydroelectric plants, and a large number of minor industries. The railroads are benefiting from the general revival of Mexican industries. Of the 14,000 miles of trackage, 8,500 miles are now under direct control of the Mexican National Railways System. The receipts of the Central Government thus far during the current year were 315,732,200 pesos, while the expenditure totaled 304,405,344, thus leaving a balance of 11,326,586 pesos.

Additional evidence of increasing economic stability was seen in the announcement on June 21 by Arturo M. Elias, financial agent of Mexico in New York, that on July 1 resumption of half-yearly payments on the external debt would be made. This sum amounts to \$11,250,000. The total amount in arrears on the \$500,000,000 external debt is \$37,500,000, which will be paid over an eight-year period beginning in 1928.

General Francisco R. Serrano, who has of late been attracting considerable attention in Mexico, and by many is regarded as a man of destiny, has succeeded Ramon Ross as Governor of the Federal District.

Señor Ross, who held that post since 1923, has assumed charge of the Ministry of Communications and Public Works. The latter post was vacated by Señor Tejada to take the Ministry of the Interior.

Elections for Representatives and Senators were held on July 4, and the day was marked by many disturbances and much bloodshed in spite of orders to disarm citizens and special efforts by the Police Department.

A transcendental reform has been enacted in the new Sanitary Code. No judge or priest may perform a marriage ceremony without presentation by applicants of certificates showing that both are in good health and free of diseases that might be communicated to their children.

The request of the Spanish Government that it be allowed to transport the remains of Hernando Cortes to Spain has been officially acquiesced in by the Mexican Government. Considering the numerous times that the bones of the great Conquistador have been moved many are skeptical that the remains within the simple tomb in Coloacán are really those of Cortes.

Officials of the Mexican Government and of the Spanish Legation exchanged ratifications of the Mexican-Spanish Claims Convention on July 7. The Chilean Ambassador at Washington has been named umpire to adjust the claims.

Nicaragua

THE Liberal revolution headed by former Vice President Dr. Juan Sacasa against General Chamorro has reverted from action to intrigue. On June 9 President Chamorro announced that the revolutionists who had been active along the Atlantic Coast had left the country. He claimed to have ample resources to maintain order and to have strengthened coast garrisons against possible surprise attack. The revolutionists, with headquarters in Guatemala, joined by Dr. Sacasa, who recently returned from the United States, are continuing to plot the overthrow of the usurper Chamorro. It was reported on June 17 that Sacasa was planning a raid on Bluefields, held by troops of General Chamorro. The Mexican Government em-

phatically denies the charge of Chamorro that it has been assisting the Liberal revolutionary junta in Guatemala.

The State Department at Washington announced on June 8 that it will not recognize the unconstitutional Nicaraguan Government which General Chamorro heads. This is in line with well-established policy and conforms with the understanding reached in Washington in 1923 whereby the Central American republics pledged themselves to withhold recognition from any leader or groups unlawfully seizing power. General Chamorro signed this treaty which he now ignores.

A new immigration law has been passed, to run for twenty-five years, under which each immigrant will receive fifty acres of agricultural land, will be allowed to bring in tools and materials duty free, and will be granted a subsidy for raising certain products.

Cuba

ON June 3, a Cuban delegation of 150 business men, Government officials, and members of the press, headed by Vice President Carlos de la Rosa, sailed for Vera Cruz for a two weeks' visit to Mexico. News of the excursion was widely heralded in the Mexican press. Official and unofficial Mexico greeted the visitors heartily and endeavored to utilize this opportunity to create more friendly relations with Cuba.

Washington announced on June 19 that three treaty ratifications with Cuba had been exchanged in Havana. One was a liquor treaty, the second a smuggling treaty, and the third covered extradition.

Panama

AN event of great significance in the history of Pan-American relations was the centenary celebration held in Panama, June 18 to 25, to commemorate the first Pan-American Congress called by Simon Bolivar at Panama, June 22, 1826. Delegates from the twenty-one American republics assembled in Panama to honor with fitting ceremony the great Liberator as the initiator of a Pan-American congress wherein all the Governments of America might cooperate in studying the great prob-

lems of the New World. Not only the Governments of the Western Hemispheres sent delegates to the gathering, but also universities, institutions and learned societies. Dr. John Glover South, United States Minister to the Republic of Panama; Dr. William Jennings Price of Georgetown University and Minister to Panama during the Wilson Administration, and Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett of the University of Texas, were appointed by President Coolidge as the official representatives of the United States. The State of Kentucky, home of Henry Clay, the great proponent of American cooperation with Latin America, sent as its representative State Senator W. V. Richardson. Delegates of American institutions and societies to the Congress were: Dr. N. A. N. Clevén and Dr. L. S. Rowe for the American Association of University Professors; Mrs. G. L. Swiggett, for the American Association of University Women; Dr. Stephen Duggan, for the World Peace Foundation; Dr. Alfred Coester, for the American Association of Teachers of Spanish; R. K. West, for the American Society of Civil Engineers; Dr. C. H. Haring, for Harvard; Dr. D. C. Munro, for Princeton; Miss Edith Fahnestock, for Vassar; Professor E. E. Curtis, for Wellesley, and others.

The following subjects constituted the agenda of the Congress: The organization of a Bolivian Pan-American University; the organization of a central bureau of bibliography and scientific and literary unification as recommended by the Third Pan-American Scientific Congress; discussion of plans for wider diffusion of the principal Pan-American literary and scientific works; and, finally, the organization of a campaign for the erection in Panama of a monument to Bolivar as recommended by the Fifth Pan-American Congress at Santiago, Chile, in 1923. The design of this monument submitted by the eminent Spanish sculptor Benlliure y Gil has already been accepted.

Acting on information furnished by Richard O. Marsh, former Chargé d'Affaires of the American Legation at Panama, to the effect that British interests had obtained concessions on vast tracts of public lands in Panama on both sides of the Canal Zone, Senator Borah immediately intro-

duced a resolution in the Senate, on June 5, calling on the State and War Departments for all available information on the subject. The data furnished by Mr. Marsh purported to show that, instead of being ordinary mineral grants, the real purpose of the concessions was to prevent the United States from controlling the rubber production of Panama. The State Department, after investigating, was satisfied that the concession was a typical grant for the exploitation of mineral deposits only, and declined to take up the matter diplomatically with Panama.

Haiti

LOUIS BORNO, President of Haiti, recently re-elected for another four-year term, accompanied by Mme. Borno and Mr. Cumberland, financial adviser, sailed for New York on June 7 to make a month's tour of the United States. The departure of the President from Port au Prince and his arrival in New York were marred by slight hostile demonstrations of anti-Borno factions. His unpopularity with some of his countrymen is due in part to his friendly attitude toward American intervention in Haiti. This intervention, contends President Borno, is responsible for the marked social and economic

progress made by his country. Politically, the present system of Government is the only feasible one with 90 per cent. of the population illiterate. "The great mass of the people of Haiti are grateful to the United States for the improved conditions in their country," he said. "Only a handful of malcontents now oppose the present régime of peace. * * * They are composed entirely of discredited military leaders and their lieutenants."

Porto Rico

THE Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs has recommended to the Senate for approval four amendments to the organic law of Porto Rico. They are as follows: (1) That the Auditor of Porto Rico be held solely responsible for all public expenditures; (2) that the insular indebtedness shall be limited to 5 per cent. for municipalities and 10 per cent. for the insular Government, of the assessed valuation of the islands, a total of 15 per cent., meaning a possible increase in insular indebtedness of \$15,000,000; (3) that the sessions of the Porto Rico Legislature be limited to 60 days; and (4) that Americans residing in the island a year or longer become citizens of Porto Rico.

[SOUTH AMERICA]

Brazil's Resignation From the League of Nations

Brazilian Government Bond Issue Financed in New York—Gloom Over Tacna-Arica Crisis—Chile Blames Delay for Failure—Peru Builds Model Homes—Central Bank Created in Ecuador

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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A PART from Brazil's resignation from the League of Nations, which is dealt with elsewhere in this magazine, one of the most important of the month's events affecting Brazil was the issue of \$25,000,000 6½ per cent. external sinking fund gold bonds of the United States of Brazil which was offered on June 24 by a syndicate headed by Dillon, Read & Co. of New York. This offering followed the first step in Brazil's financial

program adopted a month ago in which a \$35,000,000 Brazilian Government bond issue was sold in New York by the same syndicate. The last bonds were priced at 90½ with interest at 7½ per cent., and were secured by a first charge on Government receipts subject to prior charges aggregating \$11,798,400 a year. Revenues from these sources in 1925 were \$148,373,000.

The Bank of Brazil, the country's bank of issue, recorded 1925 as its most pros-

perous year. It had a capital of 100,000 contos, and a profit of 141,508 contos as compared with 99,666 in 1924 (a conto equaled \$116.90 in 1924, \$142.80 in 1925). This increased volume of business resulted in payment of a 20 per cent. dividend and an addition of 14,151 contos to the bank's reserve fund, making it total 118,776 contos.

The total number of immigrants entering Brazil during 1925 was 84,883. This figure was less than for the two preceding years, but fair considering unsettled conditions in centres of immigration. The leading sources were Portugal, Spain and Italy.

The Brazilian cruiser Bahia, carrying 406 officers and men, anchored at the Philadelphia Navy Yard the latter part of June, to participate in the naval exhibit of the Sesquicentennial International Exposition. The Bahia is the first battleship of the South American Republic to visit the United States officially since 1913.

Chile and Peru

SHORTLY after the abandonment of the plebiscite in Tacna-Arica, which is fully described elsewhere in this magazine, the American delegation sailed north on the Essequibo. General Lassiter, after paying official visits to the Plebiscitary delegates, left on the U. S. S. Denver for Panama, arriving on June 28. He was received by a large gathering including civil, military and naval officials.

Fourteen members of the commission who reached New York on July 7 gave varying opinions on the outcome of the crisis. Colonel Kreger believed that a peaceful settlement would still be found through arbitration, while others said that war between Chile and Peru was a probable result.

On June 24 the Chilean Government asserted that the continued postponement of the plebiscite had been the cause for the disorders in Tacna-Arica. In accordance with this official statement a document was prepared by Dr. Agustin Edwards, Chilean representative on the Plebiscite

Commission, officially approved by the Chilean Cabinet, and forwarded to all foreign Governments, designed to defend Chile's attitude during the plebiscitary proceedings.

Together with other dignitaries of the South American Republic, Señor Arturo Alessandri, ex-President of Chile, visited the Sesquicentennial International Exposition in Philadelphia the latter part of June. Among the number were Dr. Miguel Cruchaga, Chilean Ambassador to the United States; Dr. Samuel Clara, Arbitrator in the Tacna-Arica negotiations; Señora Clara and two daughters, Lucy and Anna; Carlos Mariana, private secretary to the former President; Enrique Chirgwin,

Secretary to Dr. Clara and Dr. Enrique Bustos, Second Secretary of the Chilean Embassy at Washington.

A big building project has been authorized by the Peruvian Government for its capital, Lima. The Minister of Public Works has been directed to proceed with the erection of 1,000 sanitary dwellings for poorer classes of laborers with families, also the building of schoolhouses, a church, plazas and playgrounds for children.

José Santos Chocano, Peru's poet laureate, has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for killing Edwin Elmore, an American writer. The tragedy was the outcome of an altercation over a controversy relative to the doctrines of José Vasconcelos, the Mexican writer, carried on by the two men in the press.



Harris & Ewing
MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM
LASSITER
President of the Tacna-Arica
Plebiscitary Commission

Argentina

BERNARDO DUGGAN, Argentine aviator, who with two companions, left Miller Field, Staten Island, N. Y., on May 24, to fly to Buenos Aires, arrived at Para, Brazil, on July 5. After passing over Cayenne, French Guiana, unfavorable weather forced them down near the Island of Marca, 300 miles north of Vigia, Brazil, a circumstance that caused all trace of them to be lost for a week.

Argentina has a new Sunday law prohibiting most forms of manual labor, the sale of drinks containing more than 6 per cent. alcoholic content, and of tobacco. Restaurant owners and shopkeepers are

entering protest to President Alvear against such stringent regulations.

Venezuela

PETROLEUM and Maracaibo coffee are responsible for present economical and financial prosperity in Venezuela. To remedy poor docking facilities, the Government has recently contracted with the Raymond Concrete Pile Company of New York for the construction of a 3,000-foot dock at Maracaibo. It has also authorized the development of a deep water harbor off the Paraguana Peninsula, and construction there of a custom house. These projects have been financed from Government receipts, without the necessity of any bond issues or loans.

[THE BRITISH EMPIRE]

British Miners' Workday Raised to Eight Hours

Gloomy Outlook Caused by Continuance of Coal Strike—Mackenzie King Cabinet Defeated—New Election in Canada—Hertzog Introduces Native Bills in South Africa—Creation of West Indies Conference

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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THE outlook in Great Britain still seemed almost as black as the commodity concerned in the dispute. On June 8 a conference between the miners and the operators proved entirely fruitless and the Cabinet began the preparation of administrative and legislative measures in line with the recommendations of the Coal Commission. These measures were introduced in the House of Commons on June 15 in the form of two bills. The first provided for a return to the eight-hour working day in the coal fields instead of the present seven hours, and the second was intended to help in the reorganization of the mining industry. These proposals when presented by Prime Minister Baldwin were greeted with angry protests from the Labor Party, but despite the

bitter and at times insulting language used in the debate, the Government pushed the eight-hour measure through its final stages and on July 1, the sixty-second day of the coal strike, the bill received its third reading in the Commons by a vote of 332 to 147. On the following day a Labor Party motion designed to censure the Government for the manner in which it had handled the coal strike was rejected by 256 votes to 95. After an all-night sitting the Government carried its motion in the Commons on July 6 by 181 votes to 64 to continue the emergency regulations that were made effective at the beginning of the coal strike. After an angry debate the Government carried in the Commons on July 7 its proposal to devote £3,000,000 to the importing of coal, this sum constituting a

capital to be used over and over again till the end of the strike.

The passage of the miners' eight-hour bill through the House of Lords was interrupted by the Government itself when it was announced by Viscount Cecil on July 6 that the intention to accelerate the bill had been reconsidered because of the profoundly unsatisfactory new terms posted by the coal owners in one colliery district. Though not named, the coal owners referred to were those of Yorkshire, who proposed to devote 85 instead of 87 per cent. of their surplus profits to wages. The following day the Yorkshire owners announced their willingness to fall in line with the other districts and raise the percentage to 87. The Government then decided to proceed with the bill and on July 8 it was passed by the Lords and given the royal assent, but only after considerable disorder. The Labor members of the House of Lords tried to obstruct the passage of the bill, thereby forcing the Government to closure the debate by 44 votes to 4. When the Commons were summoned to the Lords to hear the royal assent, Labor members of the Commons created a disturbance, which was followed by some scuffling and fighting in the lobbies.

There was little evidence that the two sides to the controversy had any change of heart. A. J. Cook, the miners' leader, took such a positive and unbending attitude that compromise seemed unlikely. During a visit to Berlin to secure international support he declared in a statement printed in *Rote Fahne*, the chief German Communist organ, that the British miners would accept no compromise. On July 2 the Trade Union Council issued an uncompromising manifesto calling upon all members of the unions to help the striking coal miners. "with the same enthusiasm as during the general strike."

The increasing seriousness of the coal situation was shown by the enormous increase in the shipments of foreign coal to Great Britain. The railways took American coal while the gas and electricity works placed orders mostly in Germany. British trade was hard hit. Production in the iron and steel industry practically ceased and there was the prospect that unless the coal dispute were

speedily settled the railways would be unable to run the ordinary Summer services and vacationists would be seriously discommoded. Sterling, however, still maintained the ground it had gained earlier in the year, and the stock markets appeared to thrive on industrial troubles.

The coal subsidy up to May 31 had cost nearly £23,000,000, while the ratepayers had given relief to the amount of nearly £2,000,000. On May 31 it was announced that there was a total of 1,614,200 persons unemployed. This was exclusive of persons who ceased work in the coal mining industry on account of the dispute. This total figure was 16,521 more than the previous week and 366,894 more than the year before.

After an attempt to oust J. H. Thomas from his leadership in the National Union of Railwaymen at its annual conference at Weymouth was defeated on July 6, that body went further in opposing the extremists by rejecting on July 9 an appeal by the miners to the railway men to refuse to handle imported coal.

One of the important side issues of the strike arose out of Russian aid to the strikers. The British Government sent a brief but rather curt note to the Soviet Government as follows:

His Majesty's Government regrets that it cannot maintain silence about the actions of the Soviet Government, especially in allowing the remittance to England of sums intended to support the general strike. The general strike was an illegal, unconstitutional act, being a menace to the established order of Great Britain. In particular, the activity of the Soviet Commissariat of Finance is not conducive to a friendly settlement of the questions outstanding between the two States, which settlement the Soviet Government professes to desire.

It should be noted that there was no reference to the transmission of funds for the benefit of the miners on strike. The Soviet reply was in rather mild language and asserted that there was no law in Russia against the action of the workers in sending money to Great Britain. The British Cabinet was convinced, however, that the Soviet Government was responsible for this breach of the Trade Agreement. Despite strong pressure from certain quarters, the Cabinet avoided a break with the Soviet

Government and it was not likely that anything further would develop from the exchange of notes between the two Governments.

The dissensions within the Liberal Party remained unsettled. The Liberal Parliamentary Party by a vote of 20 to 10 passed a resolution deprecating the publicity given to the differences between the Liberal leaders and expressing the hope that the leaders would do their best to restore unity in the ranks of the party. Mr. Lloyd George thus remained the leader of the party in the House of Commons, but one of his chief opponents, Sir Godfrey Collins, continued to be Chief Liberal whip. The Liberal Candidates' Association passed a resolution which authorized a deputation of their number to convey to Lord Oxford and Asquith the strong desire of the association for the restoration of complete Liberal unity. Both resolutions were regarded as victories for Lloyd George. Finally, the meeting of the National Liberal Federation which was to have made a decision of the matter passed a resolution of confidence in Lord Oxford's leadership, but only after it had been explained that the resolution was in no sense a vote of censure on Mr. Lloyd George. The later meetings of the Federation indicated that the Liberals had failed to find unity, and in a fighting speech on June 23 Mr. Lloyd George indicated that he would not allow himself to be driven out of the party.

In Parliament action was taken on two interesting measures. The House of Lords threw out by a vote of 125 to 80 Lord Astor's third attempt to enable peeresses in their own right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, while the House of Commons passed an important measure whereby a Minister on his appointment to the Cabinet need not face a by-election.

British women were particularly active during the month. A large demonstration was held on July 7 in the interest of equal



THE BIG PARADE

—John Bull, London

political rights. The Parliament Act of 1918 excluded women from the Parliamentary franchise until they are 30 years old, and a strong movement is being carried on to lower the age limit to 21 years. Nearly 100,000 women peacemakers who had come to London from all parts of the country assembled and marched to Hyde Park on June 19 to lend their presence and sympathy and strength to the movement in favor of arbitration and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

In a by-election in North Hammersmith, London, the Government lost a seat to the Labor Party by a majority of 3,600. In the last election the Conservative candidate won the district by a two-thousand majority.

Ireland

THE case of Patrick Garland of New York, who was arrested in April on charges of conspiracy to spread sedition throughout the Irish Free State, was heard in Dublin and a fine of \$250 was imposed by the Judge. Certain documents were found in his possession and he was specifically charged with aiding a treasonable body called "The Government of the Irish Republic" and with assisting in the formation or maintenance of an unlawful association called "The Irish Republican Army of Queenstown." Garland's arrest had a reverberation in the exclusion of Charles Edward Russell, the American Socialist, from the Irish Free State. Free

State officials said that Russell had been mentioned in the correspondence seized on Garland and that the nature of the correspondence prompted them to keep the American Socialist out of their country. Russell was held up at Southampton by the British authorities on the request of the Irish Free State, but was later informed that he might enter England on condition that he would promise not to enter the Free State.

Canada

THE Ministry of W. L. Mackenzie King resigned on June 28 after Lord Byng, the Governor General, had refused to dissolve Parliament. The recent investigation into customs matters was the immediate cause of the Government's resignation, although it had had a precarious existence since the general election last October. In January serious charges against the Customs Administration were made by a Conservative member and after an investigation of four months a Parliamentary Committee made a unanimous report to Parliament indicating rather serious irregularities and directly involving the Minister of Customs in the King Government. Fearing defeat, as well as further exposure, Mr. Mackenzie King requested the Governor General to dissolve Parliament, but when the latter refused, Mr. King resigned and the Governor General sent for Arthur Meighen, former Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party.

At first it appeared that the new Government would be able to secure the assistance of the Progressives, who held the balance of power in Parliament, but after securing several favorable votes, Mr. Meighen's temporary Cabinet sustained a defeat by one vote. The defeat was due to the attack of the Liberal Party led by Mr. King against the continuance of the Meighen Ministry in office in violation of what he called the established practice. Mr. Meighen had formed a temporary Cabinet to carry on until the end of the session and the acting Ministers were serving without remuneration in order to avoid violating the Independence of Parliament act. Sir Henry Drayton, who was leading the Government because Mr. Meighen could not sit in the Commons un-

til he was re-elected, immediately secured the adjournment of the House after the adverse vote, and the Governor-General later dissolved Parliament.

On July 4 after a conference of Conservatives in Mr. Meighen's office it was announced that the composition of the new Ministry as well as the date of the election need not be expected for ten days.

The bitter fight in Parliament was really over the control of the election machinery, and the Liberals may complain to the country that they were treated unfairly by the Governor-General. Impartial English newspapers approved of the course taken by Lord Byng. He had no precedents to follow and his decision against Mr. King's request for a dissolution was apparently based on a full and impartial consideration of the situation.

The resignation of the King Government and the dissolution of Parliament precluded the discussion of the important resolution introduced by Mr. King, which was intended to settle the status of Canada in the British Empire especially as regards its treaty relationships.

It was announced in London on June 8 that Viscount Willingdon of Ratton had accepted appointment as Governor-General of Canada to succeed Baron Byng of Vimy.

On July 1 Canada reverted to the gold standard. Penny postage also came into effect on that date.

Australia

THE population of Australia just passed the 6,000,000 mark on the 138th anniversary of the first settlement. The sixth million was reached in the record time of eight years, four years sooner than any previous million was achieved.

The Commonwealth Senate by a vote of 32 to 1 passed the Industry and Commerce bill empowering the Australian Government to legislate for the control of trusts. The Essential Services bill was also passed by the Senate, giving to the Government the power to protect the interests of the public in the event of actual or probable interruption of essential services through a general strike or some such disturbance. Both bills are subject to a referendum.

An announcement which created some surprise was the acceptance by Viscount

Chelmsford of the post of Agent-General for New South Wales in London. He was at one time Governor of that State, and later Viceroy of India, and First Lord of the Admiralty in the first British Labor Cabinet under Ramsay MacDonald.

The Commonwealth High Court recently declared invalid the New South Wales act which provided for the 44-hour week. The Court ruled that the act could not be applied to persons employed in industries already covered by Federal wage awards which established a 48-hour week.

Several changes in the Cabinet occurred during the month under review. Sir R. V. Wilson, the Minister for Markets and Migration, resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Paterson, a member of the Country Party. Mr. Atkinson, the Vice President of the Executive Council, also resigned and was succeeded by Senator G. F. Pearce, who had previously been Minister for Home and Territories, his successor in that position being Major Gen. Sir William Glasgow.

India

COMMUNAL riots broke out in another section of India, at Rawalpindi, on June 16. The gravity of the position caused by the bitter communal feeling was recognized throughout India and preventive measures were to be taken to keep the situation in hand.

Women in Bengal now have the right of voting at elections for the Legislative Council. They must present a certificate showing that they pay income tax of any amount or municipal rates of at least 24 rupees per annum.

The India Office issued a communiqué on June 11 stating that the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, had decided to end exports of opium for other than strictly medical purposes within a period of ten years. There was to be a gradual reduction of exports



INTO THE LIMELIGHT

Mr. Lloyd George: "Well, I'm glad I'm no longer in the shadows; this limelight is much more my style."

—*Western Mail, London*

during the decade. The sale of opium by public auction at Calcutta has already been discontinued.

New Zealand

SIR JAMES PARR, the New High Commissioner for New Zealand, on arriving in London issued a statement on the subject of the status of the Dominion representatives in England. He suggested that the necessity for frequent consultations between his Government and the British Government required the presence in London of a representative of New Zealand. He said further that there was no sentiment in New Zealand in favor of appointing Ambassadors abroad and that his Government was willing to allow the actual conduct of foreign affairs to rest with the Imperial Government.

South Africa

GENERAL HERTOOG introduced in the Legislative Assembly four so-called native bills embodying the policy of the Prime Minister toward the natives. They related to representation in the Union Parliament, to the creation of a Native Council, to the acquisition of land by natives outside the present native areas, and to the extension of the franchise to colored persons throughout the Union. Three of the

four bills require a two-thirds majority of both houses sitting together, as they modify the entrenched clauses of the South Africa act.

The West Indies

THE official report of the West Indian Conference, which was held in London from May 13 to June 5 to consider closer relations between the West Indian and neighboring British Colonies, shows that

a new body is to be created called "The West Indies Conference, being the Standing Conference of British Guiana, British Honduras, the Bahama Islands and the British West Indian Islands." The number of delegates of the different colonies is not to exceed the following figures: Barbados, 5; British Guiana, 4; Jamaica, 4; Trinidad, 4; Bahamas, 3; British Honduras, 3; Leeward Islands, 3; Windward Islands—Grenada, 1; St. Lucia, 1, and St. Vincent, 1. Only unanimous decisions will be adopted.

[FRANCE AND BELGIUM]

Caillaux Again Faces Financial Dilemma

Special Powers Demanded to Put Through Budget Plan—Experts Advise Debt Ratification—Franc Continues to Fall—Socialists Urge Capital Levy—Belgian Budget Surplus—Amusement Tax Opposed

By CARL BECKER

John Stambaugh Professor of History, Cornell University

ONCE more the principal event in France proved to be the fall and reconstruction of the Cabinet. On June 15 Aristide Briand resigned, and after eight days of negotiation became Premier for the tenth time. The resignation of the Briand ministry, precipitated by the fall of the franc to 36.50 on June 14, was due partly to the difficulties experienced by Minister Péret in carrying out his financial policy, and partly to the anomalous situation of a Cabinet nominally backed by the parties of the Left while actually proposing a policy favored chiefly by the Centre. The event was foreshadowed on June 8 when Minister Péret offered his resignation. On June 9 the Cabinet met President Doumergue in a session in which the question of a reconstruction of the ministry was understood to have been discussed. Premier Briand had just returned from Geneva, where he had broached the project of the stabilization of the French and Belgian francs and the Italian lira as a single problem. It was understood that the Belgian and Italian Governments were favorable to this plan, provided that there could be

constructed in France a ministry that had some chance of remaining in office for at least six months. The possibility of forming such a ministry—a "National Union" ministry composed of members of all important parties—was discussed at the Cabinet session of June 9; but it was decided that the time was not yet ripe for it, and Minister Péret was induced to withdraw his resignation. As a concession to the Finance Minister it was decided to annul the law on the export of capital, not to continue the Loucheur taxes of last December which bear heavily on industrial securities, and to abolish the *carnet des coupons*—a measure for the registry of all securities. These concessions were of little avail in removing the difficulties encountered by Minister Péret, and on June 15 he again handed in his resignation, whereupon the entire Cabinet retired.

The chief difficulties of the Finance Minister were said to be with the Bank of France. The plan of Péret and the expert Financial Commission apparently looked to the "restoration" of the franc, and for this they sought the assistance of the Bank of France. The Finance Minister and a

majority of the commission were in favor of using the 700,000,000-franc gold reserve of the Bank of France for stabilization purposes. The Bank of France apparently refused to use its reserve to this end, maintaining that the franc could never be restored to its former value, that a "new franc" would have to be created at something like twenty to the dollar, and that the bank reserve should be held for this purpose. The creation of a new franc with a lower value would in itself not be difficult, but there were weighty political objections to it arising chiefly from the fact that there are in France 1,100,000 holders of securities who have to date lost some 85 per cent. of their investment and who desire above all things to see the franc restored to its former value. These *rentiers* include a large part of the intellectual and political leaders of France, and their influence could not be disregarded. The political necessity of restoring the franc to its former value and the financial impossibility of so doing created a dilemma which a Cabinet representing the Left but unsupported by it could not hope to overcome successfully. Premier Briand therefore resigned in the hope of constructing a Cabinet composed of all parties and pledged to deal effectively with the pressing question of financial stabilization.

Briand apparently contemplated the union of the strong "Nationalist" group of M. Marin, the followers of M. Poincaré, and the Radical Socialists led by M. Herriot. M. Poincaré was apparently willing to accept the Ministry of Finance in such a National Union Cabinet, provided the Government be given extraordinary powers of dealing with the financial situation, unhampered by the Chamber of Deputies. The crucial question was whether M. Herriot could be induced to cooperate. At a



Sooner or later he'll have to take it

—New York World

caucus of the Radical Party on June 16 two-thirds of the members declared themselves opposed to joining the National Union Cabinet; but it was understood that M. Herriot expressed himself as willing to enter the ministry on condition that the Nationalist leader, M. Marin, should not be a member of it, and provided further that no extraordinary powers, such as were demanded by M. Poincaré, be given the Government. On June 18 M. Briand accordingly informed President Doumergue that he could not form a ministry, whereupon M. Herriot was asked to undertake the task. Whether or not this move was a shrewd political manoeuvre on the part of M. Briand, the event proved that M. Herriot could form no ministry except one based frankly on the Left parties, and that such a ministry would be incapable of dealing with the financial question. Both M. Briand and M. Poincaré refused to join a Herriot ministry; the Socialists were willing to cooperate provided the ministry declared itself in favor of a levy on capital. A hastily devised financial program for the new ministry, described in the *Matin* of June 20, pleased neither parties of the Right nor those of the Left. The difficulty of M. Herriot was succinctly stated in the *Journal des Débats*. "If on an important issue M. Herriot has the Socialists with

him, he loses the rest of the Chamber. If he has them against him, he is in an impossible situation." Thus after two days of effort M. Herriot abandoned the attempt to form a ministry, and President Doumergue requested M. Briand to try once more.

Having failed to make a National Union Cabinet, Briand attempted to form a "concentration" Centre Cabinet, relying for this scheme chiefly on M. Poincaré of the Right and M. Painlevé of the Left. This project was blocked by the refusal of M. Poincaré to serve, his refusal being based on the ground that the task of financial rehabilitation was such that no solution could be achieved unless the Finance Minister had extraordinary powers. M. Briand then fell back on the Left once more, and on June 23 his tenth Cabinet was announced, with Joseph Caillaux as Minister of Finance. Besides the Premier and the Finance Minister the Cabinet consisted of the following:

PIERRE LAVAL—Justice.
 JEAN DURAND—Interior.
 General GUILLAUMAT—War.
 GEORGES LEYGUES—Marine.
 BERTRAND NAGORE—Education.
 DANIEL VINCENT—Public Works.
 M. BINET—Agriculture.
 FERNAND CHAPSAL—Commerce.
 LEON PERRIER—Colonies.
 JEAN DURAFOUR—Labor.
 PAUL JOURDAIN—Pensions.

The new Cabinet was coolly received, and the eight days of feverish negotiation for a strong government was generally thought to have ended in an anti-climax. The sole element of strength in the new Cabinet as compared to the old was the inclusion of Joseph Caillaux, generally regarded as the man in France most competent to deal with the financial problem. His first step was to issue a circular letter to his colleagues insisting on the most drastic economies. His second step was to establish closer relations with the Bank of France by securing the resignation of Georges Robineau as Governor and appointing in his place M. Moreau, who, it was understood, would have less objection to using the gold reserve for purposes of stabilization.

On June 29, following several conferences between the Government, M. Moreau

of the Bank of France, Montagu Norman of the Bank of England and Benjamin Strong of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Premier Briand outlined his policy to the Chamber of Deputies. He said in substance that there were three aspects of the financial problem which must be dealt with together. These were the ratification of the American debt settlement, the arrangement of terms for the settlement of the British debt and the plans for a stabilization of the franc. The Government was sustained by a vote of 290 to 130. The opposition came mainly from the Socialists, who declared themselves opposed to further foreign credits and demanded the capital levy.

On July 4 the report of the expert Financial Commission appointed by the former Briand Government was made public. The essential points of the report were as follows:

(1) It was declared to be impossible to restore the franc to its former value.

(2) It was recommended that the franc be stabilized at a ratio to be determined in the near future.

(3) It was recommended that this process of stabilization be carried out in three stages:

(a) During a short pre-stabilization period limits be set to the advances by the Bank of France to the State and to the note circulation;

(b) A period during which a ratio of gold to paper be established and maintained by allowing the export of gold;

(c) A final period during which paper should be freely redeemed by gold at the ratio fixed.

(4) It was recommended that there be a reduction of the income tax and new consumption taxes sufficient to increase the revenue by 4,000,000,000 francs.

(5) It was recommended that the foreign debt agreement be ratified as a preliminary to the obtaining of increased foreign credits.

On July 6, the day set for the debate, M. Caillaux in a long speech reviewed the entire situation and presented, for the most part in general terms, the policy proposed to be followed by the Government. The policy thus outlined was scarcely more than an elaboration of the statement of Premier Briand a week earlier. On the question of ratifying the foreign debt, M. Caillaux said: "I declare clearly and emphatically that it will not be possible to pay these debts if the franc continues to fall and if we do not obtain credits from

more fortunate peoples. But we will not get those credits unless we pay our debts." Not the least important part of M. Caillaux's speech announced that the Government would ask in a special bill for a grant of extraordinary power to proceed with the policy of stabilization at a time and in a manner to be determined by itself. The announcement, which amounted to a request that Parliament abdicate for the time being its control of financial policy, was immediately met by the vigorous protest of M. Auriol on behalf of the Socialists. In general, the speech of M. Caillaux was applauded by the Center groups, but received with indifference or hostility by the Right and the Left.

Bitter attacks on the two main points of Caillaux's program were continued on the following day. M. Franklin Bouillon condemned the ratification of the debt compact, while Léon Blum, Socialist leader, in a three-hour oration, launched forth against the demand of the Government for almost dictatorial powers in salvaging France's finances. On July 8, when the franc descended to a new low level, M. Caillaux pleaded eloquently for his program, refuting Léon Blum's alternative proposal of a capital levy, and challenging the latter with "Your system will fall most heavily on the poorer people, for the rich will be most able to liberate themselves at once. Ideology, ideology, your capital levy, M. Blum."

That the Chamber agreed with M. Caillaux was proved on July 10, when the capital levy proposal was defeated by a vote of 324 to 203. At the same session M. Briand won a vote of confidence by the narrow margin of 269 over 247 votes. This victory means that the Government may proceed with debt negotiations with Great Britain, the ratification of the Franco-American pact and the salvaging of the franc along lines proposed by the committee of experts.

On July 8, S. Parker Gilbert's departure for Antibes in Southern France started sensational rumors of an Anglo-American Conference on credits to France. The fact that Montagu Norman, head of the Bank of England, and Benjamin Strong, head of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, were both at Antibes occasioned the ex-



TWO DETHRONED ONES

Wilhelm: "You were a fool, Abd-el-Krim! You sacrificed yourself for your people. My people sacrifice themselves for me!"

—Lachen Links, Berlin

citement, and both of these notables were kept busy denying rumors and evading reporters.

France is once more confronted by the question as to whether the members of the Chamber of Deputies should be elected by *scrutin de liste* or by *scrutin d'arrondissement*. The present Briand Ministry has made this question one of its major policies, by proposing that the present system be so changed that the electors in each election district shall vote for one Deputy. The present system is a somewhat complicated one, based upon the theory of "proportionate representation," and designed to give to each party a representation corresponding to the number of votes cast by the party. The result is that the electors in each department are presented with several lists of candidates for that department. Consequently the members of minority parties, knowing that their candidates cannot be elected, often vote for candidates of the party most closely allied to them in interests, in the hope of defeating the party to which they are most bit-

terly opposed. This occurred, for example, in the recent by-election in Paris, where the Socialists voted for Communist Deputies in order to defeat the Nationalist candidates. But the most general effect of the system in recent years, according to some authorities, has been that the moderates throughout the country have in large numbers voted for candidates who do not strictly represent them; that is to say, moderates who incline to the Right have voted for Nationalist candidates in order to defeat Socialists, while moderates who incline to the Left have voted for Socialists or Radical Socialists in order to defeat the Nationalists.

On June 27 a congress of French Fascists was held at Rheims with 700 delegates, and 12,000 spectators crowded the city and the assembly rooms. The delegates were said to have been recruited from three classes, mainly—war veterans, industrialists and civic representatives of towns and villages. The movement was described by the leaders as “a revolt of the nation against the Parliamentary state,” and the present congress was said to be a preparatory form of national assembly to replace the present Parliament. While the Fascists were assembled 3,000 Communists were holding a congress in another part of the same town.

The newspapers of Alsace on June 7 published a manifesto issued by the autonomist organization known as the *Heimatsbund*, which made a number of demands on the French Government, looking toward partial self-government for Alsace-Lorraine. One of these demands was that the two provinces should be protected against the competition of the rest of France by establishing special tariffs on agricultural and industrial products. The manifesto was signed by about sixty persons, including certain priests and civil officials.

In spite of rumors to the contrary, the revolt in Morocco has been effectively suppressed, and the questions that have arisen during the past month relate to the fate of Abd-el Krim, the new delimitation of zones and future relations with the native tribes. For a week various Italian newspapers strongly urged the necessity of an international congress for the settlement of Morocco; but this campaign was cut short by the announcement by Premier Briand

on June 12 that the question of the Riff did not call for an international congress, since it concerned France and Spain alone. Franco-Spanish conferences began in Paris on June 14. The French were inclined to deal leniently with Abd-el Krim; whereas the Spanish insisted, because of the brutal treatment accorded by the Riff leader to Spanish prisoners, on more drastic treatment to be meted out by a joint Spanish-French court.

Belgium

THE financial policy of the Jaspar Ministry was understood to be the work of M. Franqui, Minister Without Portfolio, who was given a pretty free hand in solving the financial problem by any means available. It consisted essentially of four points: (1) The establishment of a sinking fund for the payment of the national debt; (2) a very considerable increase in taxes, both direct and indirect; (3) the renewal of foreign credits already granted; (4) the stabilization of the franc as soon as possible at a ratio to be determined. On June 2 the new taxes proposed by the Government were approved by the Finance Commission of the Chamber, and on June 4 and 5 these taxes were voted by the Chamber and the Senate. It was estimated that the new taxes would produce a revenue of 1,500,000,000 francs, of which the land tax would produce 150,000,000, the customs and excises 530,000,000, the stamp tax 700,000,000 and the tax on liquors 72,000,000. What met with most opposition in the Chamber and in the country was the tax on amusements, chiefly on theatres, which the Government proposed to double, but which was said to be already too high to produce the maximum of revenue. On June 15 M. Franqui returned from London, where he had succeeded in obtaining a renewal of foreign credits.

The Belgian franc, following the course of the French franc, fell to 39.75 to the dollar, but due to the large surplus in tax receipts, rose to 38.50 to the dollar on July 6. For the first four months of the year 1926 there was a marked increase of imports over exports. The increase of imports was 697,435,000, while the increase of exports was 159,879,000.

German Ex-Rulers Escape Expropriation

*Confiscation Wins at Polls, but Insufficient Votes Void Referendum—
Steel Trust Growing—Ratification of Russo-German Treaty—Adverse
Trade Balance Continues in Austria*

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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THE national referendum held on June 20, which was to settle the hotly disputed question of the confiscation of royal property, was null and void, due to the fact that the number of ballots required by the Constitution for a vote were not cast. Those opposing confiscation, foreseeing their defeat, stayed away from the polls, thus making the total number of votes about 5,000,000 too few for a valid decision. As it turned out, only 542,000 were against confiscation and 14,889,000 for it. The text of the referendum was as follows:

The German people, through popular initiative and referendum, decree the following law:

1. The entire fortune of the Princes who have ruled in any one of the German States until the revolution of 1918, as well as the entire fortune of the princely houses, their families and family members, are confiscated without compensation in the interest of the general welfare.

2. The confiscated property is to be used to aid:

- (a) The unemployed.
- (b) The war invalids and the war widows and orphans.
- (c) Those dependent upon the public.
- (d) The needy victims of the inflation.
- (e) The agricultural laborers, tenants and peasants, through the creation of free land in the confiscated estates.

The castles, residences and other buildings are to be used for general welfare, cultural and educational purposes, especially for convalescent hospitals and homes for war invalids, war widows and orphans, and for the socially dependent, as well as for children's homes and educational institutions.

Communists and Socialists were solidly for confiscation. The People's Party, the Nationalists and other parties of the Right were against it, although there were some defections. The Centre also was supposedly against confiscation, but the atti-

tude of the party leaders became half-hearted and timid after the important defections reported from the adherents of the so-called Left Wing Party, mainly miners of the Westphalian district who had flatly disregarded the warnings of Catholic leaders and had come out openly for expropriation. *Germania*, the chief organ of the Centre Party, significantly refrained from giving a single word of advice to its members. The Democratic Party officially refused to take any attitude, but virtually the entire Democratic press in Prussia published daily attacks on the former rulers in almost as violent a tone as that of the Communist and Socialist organs. In the large cities and industrial sectors, such as the Ruhr and Saxony, the vote exceeded 50 per cent. In the country national strongholds, such as Bavaria, the issue was rejected through abstentions or restricted turnout of voters. In Munich participation was only 32 per cent., while in East Prussia it dropped to 20 per cent. Fully 60 per cent. of the eligible voters stayed away from the polls, while 35 per cent. endorsed unconditional confiscation.

President von Hindenburg was kept out of the campaign until the closing days, when a private letter written by him to Herr von Loebell, organizer of the former Field Marshal's Presidential campaign, was made public without any authorization. Hindenburg, while refusing to give an official opinion on the referendum, wrote his private opinion as follows:

I need hardly tell you that I, who have passed my life in the service of the Kings of Prussia and of the German Emperors, look on this petition for a referendum as a deplorable lack of traditional feeling and as gross ingratitude * * * a blow against the foundations of what is right and ethical.

Many Democratic and Socialist newspapers opposed dragging the President's name into the controversy, but his stand was in general defended by the press of the Right. Paul Loebe, President of the Reichstag, held that Hindenburg had overstepped his rights and privileges and that his letter to Herr Loebell was in reality a breach of the Constitution.

The spectre of Bolshevism, cleverly injected into the last hour of the campaign, proved an effective deterrent. The people, however widely divided they might be over the claims of the former rulers, apparently feared that such dispossession would be followed by the seizure of all private property and its nationalization according to Communist ideas. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, resigned from the Democratic Party on June 22 on the contention that it had adopted an equivocal position in the controversy over the proposed confiscation. He had often been attacked by the Right Parties for his liberal utterances and his democratic ideas. George Gothein, a prominent member of the party and a frequent contributor to its press in Berlin, also resigned. Other prominent Democrats who came out against expropriation included Count von Bernstorff, Hans Delbrueck, Count Max Montgelas, Paul Rohrbach, author of the well-known book, *The German Idea in the World*, and Friedrich von Siemens, the industrialist. In some quarters the vote on the referendum was regarded as a definite test of Republican sentiment. On hearing the outcome of the referendum, the ex-Kaiser, through his legal adviser, communicated to the Prussian Government his willingness to settle on a basis of 83 per cent. of the former Hohenzollern claims.

Following the expulsion of twenty-three of the forty-one Socialist members of the Saxon Diet by their district organizations because of their refusal to vote to dissolve that body and call new elections, eighty-six delegates of groups supporting the expelled deputies met in the Diet building in Dresden on June 6 and formally launched a protesting organization labeled the "Old Social Democratic Party of Saxony."

The Federal League of German Indus-

trialists has issued a protest against the activities of the American customs officials in Germany. The industrialists assert that the agents violate German "sovereignty rights" by demanding access to books, correspondence, production and other details of the manufacturers' affairs on the threat that the firms will be prevented from exporting to the United States if the information is refused. The Berlin office of the United States customs points out that the attachés' activities are aimed only at protecting American revenue, and that the same system is employed by Canadian and Australian agents in the United States, whose questions are freely and frankly answered by American manufacturers.

According to a statement issued June 30, Germany, once purveyor of toys to the world, is now unable to stem the tide of foreign toys inundating the German markets.

The German War Ministry published statistics during June showing that there are 679,410 casualties of the World War wholly dependent upon the Federal Government for support. They are so badly maimed or diseased that their earning capacity, if any, is less than 25 per cent. of normal. Included in the total are 1,150 women, chiefly former Red Cross nurses. The Ministry calls attention to the fact that 65 per cent. of the incapacitated were more than 30 years old when they entered the service. Nearly 20 per cent. are now over 50.

The German steel trust, which was formally born last May, is growing with great rapidity and hopes within a few months to control the whole steel and rolling mill policy of Germany. The trust's avowed aim is not monopoly, but rather the "rationalization" of production methods. By "rationalizing" is meant better division of labor, standardization and, above all, the restriction of the scattered furnaces and rolling mills to the production of such goods as they are technically best equipped for.

The manufacturers who consume steel, semi-finished materials and rolled goods admit that the new trust should be able to quote them lower prices than did the old scattered corporations. But as against this they dread a raw material producers' mo-

nopoly. Against such a monopoly they can have no remedy as long as the iron and steel import duties are maintained. The duties prevent the free importation of French, Belgian and Luxemburg iron and steel, which, owing to the franc depreciation and to the low level of gold wages in those countries, are much cheaper than in Germany.

Paralleling the growth of the industrial organizations are the cartels, of which there are now 2,000. The cartels were established in an effort to save the industries from the inevitable collapse to which the post-war conditions were leading them. Most industries in 1918, especially the "key" ones, found themselves with an equipment far in excess of normal needs and a surplus supply on hand, with no foreign markets in which to dispose of them. As nearly every other large country was

in a similar position, the German producers resorted to the only alternative in their power for saving their industries, which was to maintain domestic price levels through the creation of trusts. The protection thus given to domestic industries from foreign competitors has stimulated the growth of price-fixing combinations, which have maintained their power to the present time.

The treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia was approved by the Reichstag on June 10 after a short debate. In speaking in favor of the treaty Chancellor Marx alluded to the traditional friendly relations between Russia and Germany and of the need of resuming them. The new treaty, he declared, supplemented the Locarno pact. Practically the entire House voted for the treaty. Imports into Russia for the first half of the business year beginning Oct. 1, 1925, were 366,000,000 marks as against 233,000,000 in the corresponding half of the preceding year.



THE ROYAL FILM

"Not so realistic! We don't care about reality. What we want from the public is sympathy."

—Ulk, Berlin

Exports were 308,000,000, as against 228,000,000. The excess of the imports for the six months was therefore 58,000,000, as compared with 5,000,000 for the corresponding period a year ago. While the figures of the last three years show a gradual change from a favorable to an unfavorable trade balance in Russian foreign commerce, the official press of the Soviet affirms that an export surplus will shortly be regained. Prospects of a 300,000,000 mark credit from Germany for business with Russia were reported on June 26 to be considerably brighter. Despite lower tariffs, easier discount and interest rates and a special effort made by the Government to increase commercial intercourse with Russia, the result of Germany's foreign trade for May fell far below expectations, showing a marked decrease from the April figures. Although the foreign trade balance for May was still a favorable one, exports reached only 1,432,000,000 marks, which was 50,000,000 marks



THE REFERENDUM ON THE CONFISCATION OF ROYAL PROPERTY

"The good folk thought it was a ballot box, and it is only a waste paper basket!"

-Simplicissimus, Munich

two of the most sensational cases in many years. One involved the illegal removal of millions of liters of Government bonded alcohol, which was sold by bootleggers, and the other concerned the borrowing of millions of marks from the Prussian State banks without security or with faked documents. The judges in both cases said that evidently many of the guilty had escaped even a trial, but in handing out sentences they dealt leniently with the convicted.

Emigration from Germany is on the increase, with industry and agriculture losing most of the workers. Reports to the United States Commerce Department on June 10 contained preliminary figures showing that 62,643 persons left Germany in 1925, as compared with 58,328 in 1924. Information as to the trades of 50,183 of emigrants showed that 38.2 per cent. were from industry and 25.5 per cent. from agricultural pursuits.

Austria

DURING the month under review the Ramek Government was roundly condemned for its failure to solve the pressing social, economic and educational questions which confront Austria. The main attack, however, centred on the question of school reform. In 1920 the old imperial system of education was abolished but as yet no new system which meets the approval of all parties has been devised. A premature release of the Christian Socialist Government's proposed educational plans by Minister of Education Herr Schneider was denounced by the Opposition (Social Democrats) as being too re-

below those of April. Imports also decreased, but the decline is less marked. The decline in Germany's foreign trade in May was especially disappointing, because the Government had directed its best efforts toward aiding and facilitating German exports, hoping to find in an increased foreign trade the best solution for the serious economic problems of the country. German economists therefore, consider the future outlook not very promising.

The first balance sheet of the German Federated Railways for 1924-25 showed receipts totaling 5,688,000,000 marks and expenditures of 4,800,000,000. Expenditures for repairs, improvements and extensions total 988,000,000 marks. A net profit of 156,000,000 marks was reported.

In June the federal courts concluded

actionary and clerical, and failed to receive the approval of the Pan-Germans upon whom the Government depends for its majority. Without consulting with his Chancellor, who was absent in Geneva, Herr Schneider effected a compromise with the Opposition by allowing them to adopt their own school plan in the parts of Austria controlled by them, but this in turn brought down on him the wrath of the Clerical wing of his own party. Chancellor Ramek's disapproval of Herr Schneider's action led to the latter's resignation on June 16 and stirred up a hornet's nest among the Social Democrats. Two days later Socialists and Communists of all stripes, numbering 200,000, staged a two-hour demonstration against the Government in Vienna's famous Ringstrasse. Banners condemning its policies regarding clericalism in the schools, unemployment, doles and old age insurance were numerous, and the air was rent with shouts of "Down with the Ramek Government!" "There is no place in Austria for liars and pledge breakers." On June 26 Herr Rintelen, ex-Governor of Styria, was named Minister of Education. When Herr Rin-

telen's name was proposed by the Government the Socialist leader, Otto Bauer, read a declaration explaining that the Socialists opposed him not only on account of his strong Fascist and anti-Socialist activities but because of his alleged connivance at counterfeiting Hungarian currency at Gratz, the capital of Styria, in 1922. When the vote came up the Socialists marched boldly from Parliament.

The definite termination of the League of Nations control over Austria's finances was a source of great satisfaction to Austrians everywhere. The feeling of gratification, however, was tempered by disappointment over Austria's continued adverse trade balance. Figures for March showed a considerable increase both in imports and in exports, with the excess of imports reduced to 84,000,000 schillings, as against 87,000,000 in February and 116,000,000 in January. Excess of imports during the full first quarter amounted to 287,000,000 schillings; last year they were only 117,000,000 for the period. The unfavorable balance has been mainly a result of trade with other European States.

[ITALY]

Mussolini Decrees Nine-Hour Working Day

*Elections Suspended and Foreign Exchange Restricted in Economic Crisis
—Anti-Fascist Demonstration at Geneva—Bank Scandal Involves
Prominent Men—Italy's Interest in Morocco*

By ELOISE ELLERY

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ATTEMPTS to remedy Italy's heavy adverse trade balance were an outstanding feature of the policy of the Italian Government during the last month. Despite a much lower importation of food-stuffs the balance against Italy still remained high. Sweeping steps were accordingly taken to limit importations on the one hand, and on the other to increase national production and exportation. The decrees as announced on June 29 were drastic and included the following measures:

1. The increase of the working day from eight to nine hours.
2. Restriction of daily newspapers to six pages and the prohibition of all special supplements, excepting technical ones.
3. Prohibition of the opening of new bars, cafés, hotels, cabarets, pastry shops and all-night dancing resorts.
4. Prohibition of the construction of private houses and villas of a luxurious type. The only new construction permitted is of cheap houses for workers, farm laborers and small-salaried employes, farmhouses or cooperative apartments representing the direct investment of small private

savings. Special governmental aid is given for the building of cheap houses for employes of large industrial establishments.

5. Announcement that agreements have been reached for the reduction in price, without affecting the quality, of iron, cement, bricks and plaster.

6. Announcement that steps had been taken to help large employers open canteens in order to sell food to their employes at minimum prices.

7. Announcement that agreements had been reached with industrialists to help in the production of domestic metals.

8. The appointment of a special committee to help in the utilization of domestic fuels and minerals and to stimulate their production.

9. Authorization of the mixing of gasoline with alcohol, effective Nov. 1.

10. The indefinite suspension of all provincial, communal and municipal elections.

This last and perhaps most drastic restriction aims to concentrate all national energy on the economic improvement of Italy by doing away with all internal political strife. As a result communal administrations will be largely replaced by individual public officials, directly responsible to Rome. A further decree of July 11, providing Treasury supervision of all foreign exchange dealings, is calculated to destroy the possibility of speculation in this field.

Fascist newspapers express themselves as pleased with the press restrictions. According to the *Impero*, daily journalism had become a scandalous waste of paper, and the cut in the size of the papers was a stroke of genius. The *Tribuna* says: "Fascism desires faithfulness to fundamental central ideas and brief succinct treatment of basic considerations." According to Signor Turati, Secretary General of the Fascist Party, personal journalism is doomed, as Fascism is determined to bring out the educational and moral aspect of the press. "Each province," he contends, "cannot have more than one newspaper in which will be published the party's orders, and the political acts of Fascism will be briefly illustrated."

Commenting on the objections to the increase of the normal working day from eight to nine hours, the semi-official *Popolo di Roma* says it is preferable to use this method to prevent a possible economic crisis, with its subsequent serious unem-

ployment, than to drift along aimlessly. The increase in working hours is Fascism's answer to the dilemma "whether to yield to the pressure of the strong economic position of foreign nations, which means living miserably from day to day on the edge of a precipice, or to unify our own energies, imposing upon ourselves privations and breaking the chains which are suffocating us and threatening to destroy our rebirth." Important problems of the relation of price and production are involved in this change of the working day. Premier Mussolini has conferred on the matter with representatives of the General Confederation of Industry and of the Confederation of Fascist Labor Corporations. Meanwhile the organizations were advised to continue the present eight-hour arrangement. As another measure of economy Cabinet members have been forbidden to hire any new employes for either temporary or special duties.

To further a constructive program, the Government has begun to develop merchant shipping by enforcing preference to Italian ships in both passenger and freight services, and by granting substantial subsidies and rebates. Meanwhile the new labor legislation is being put into operation. Its organization was sufficiently advanced to choose the Italian delegation to the International Labor Conference at Geneva. The question of verifying the credentials of Signor Rossoni, the Minister of Trade Union Corporations, produced a lively discussion at the conference. The some objection was raised as that brought up during the discussion of the law, namely, that the new system was monopolistic in character, and that consequently opposition syndicates did not have liberty of action. To this Signor Rossoni retorted that such criticism involved an attack on the policy of the Italian Government and that it was therefore not germane to the discussion. He was sustained in his position and also in his justification of the new organization by other members of the delegation, and was recognized as a duly appointed delegate by a vote of 70 to 31.

A protest was recently made by officials representing the Italian Government to the Swiss Government in connection with an anti-Fascist demonstration at a So-

cialist mass meeting held at Geneva in honor of Matteotti. According to the Swiss authorities a request from the Italian Minister that the proposed meeting be forbidden was refused on the ground that such an action would cause more trouble than could possibly be caused by the meeting itself. The meeting was accordingly held during which denunciations of Mussolini led to a fight between Fascist and anti-Fascist sympathizers, a number of whom were arrested, including several Italian attachés of the League of Nations who were implicated. Various diplomatic complications are involved, especially concerning the relation of the Swiss Government to the League. It is alleged that the Italian Government informed the Swiss Government that it would be obliged to cease active participation in the League of Nations if anti-Fascist meetings were permitted in Geneva. The Swiss Government is reported to have protested its innocence in this incident, and at the same time to have recognized the necessity of forbidding meetings which attack Governments represented at Geneva.

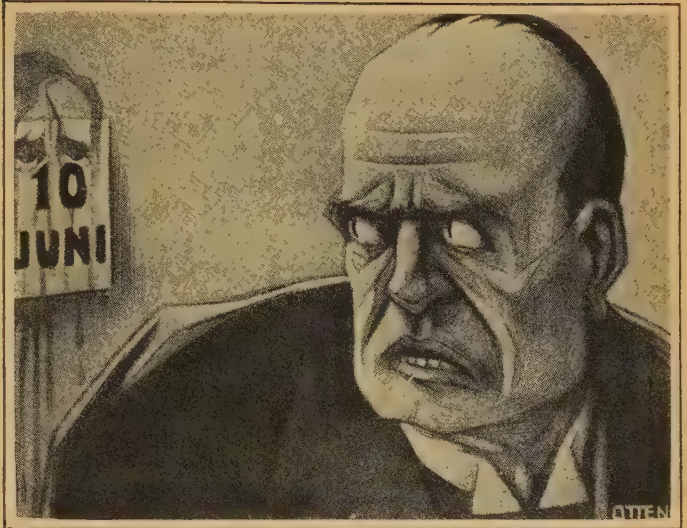
Italy has entered into various compacts with her Mediterranean neighbors. A trade agreement with France provides for certain modifications of tariff arrangements to the mutual advantage of both countries; an extradition treaty between Italy and Turkey was signed on June 19; an agreement was made in connection with the settlement of Rumania's debt to Italy which provides for the taking over by Italy of oil fields in Rumania; and, now that negotiations are taking place between England, France and Spain regarding Morocco, Italy's interests are being stressed by the Italian press.

Italian newspapers also stress Italian rights in connection with the Anglo-Italian agreement concerning concessions in Abyssinia. They declare, in answer to French criticism, that there is nothing in the Anglo-Italian proposals which threatens either Abyssinian sovereignty and integrity or French interests. According to the Italian press England, France and Italy agreed to recognize each other's rights to certain concessions in Abyssinia. France made immediate use of the treaty, but up to the present time neither England nor Italy has made any efforts to secure benefits. France therefore had no ground for objecting or for complaining of Italy's imperialistic aims.

Such accusations Premier Mussolini took up in a recent speech. Italy's policy in foreign affairs is imperialistic, he declared, but her imperialism is pacific:

Italian policies have been suspected of imperialism. I believe and I am comforted in the realization that I am supported by cultural patrimony, that every living being has imperialistic tendencies; hence people, which are more coordinated and more conscious than individuals, if they wish to live must develop a certain will to power, otherwise they will decay, or be prey to stronger peoples in whom the will to power is more developed.

I must declare to the whole world that the Fascist Government is following a policy of peace and does not desire to disturb the peace. Italy wants a just and durable peace, to use the already anti-



The anniversary of Matteotti's death
—Lachen Links, Berlin

Italian newspapers also stress Italian rights in connection with the Anglo-Italian agreement concerning concessions in Abyss-

quoted words of the Wilsonian era, but this peace must be accompanied by satisfaction to our legitimate, sacrosanct interests.

Certain reforms recently introduced into Italy's diplomatic service involve the abolition of the division between the functionaries of the diplomatic corps and those of the consular service; the elimination from the consular posts of all non-Italians; Government approval for the marriage of all diplomatic and consular officials and the requirement that these officials must first of all be Fascists.

Great excitement was caused in political and financial circles by a huge banking scandal and the arrest of a dozen or more men, all prominent in political, financial and business life. It concerned the closing of a bank in Parma, a supposedly flourishing institution with deposits of \$5,000,000 dollars and twenty branches. It closed its doors on June 18 and an investigation by Secretary-General Turati was instituted, resulting in charges of corrupt handling of the affairs of the bank and a number of arrests, including that of a former president of the bank, a Swiss consul-general and a couple of university professors. The significance of the affair is two-fold. It is reported to be an effort,

personally backed up by Premier Mussolini, to drive out financial corruption and to raise the political morals of the party. It is also an attempt to suppress the extremism which flourished under Farinacci, Turati's predecessor and rival. Many of the men implicated in the scandal were high in the party counsels under Farinacci and their arrest is part of the effort, as Turati puts it, to clear up difficult local situations left over by the Farinacci régime.

On June 8 the Public Prosecutor completed his investigation into the case of the Deputy Zaniboni, General Capello and others accused of complicity in an attempt to murder Premier Mussolini last November. They are charged with spreading secret, seditious propaganda against the Government in having attempted to provoke civil war and to change by violence the Constitution of the State. Zaniboni is further charged with attempting actual murder. The Prosecutor's accusations involve six men besides Zaniboni and Capello. Eight others are recommended for release on account of insufficient evidence. It is noteworthy that no charge was formulated against Signor Torrigiani, head of the now dissolved Freemasons, who was originally accused.

[EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS]

Pilsudski Strengthens His Dictatorship

Polish Leader Becomes Permanent Commander-in-Chief of Army—Czech Tariff Feuds Impair Influence of Benes—Greece for Balkan Alliance

By **FREDERIC A. OGG**

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

THE new Polish régime inaugurated on May 12 was consolidated in early June by the inauguration of Professor Moscicki, the chemist of Lemberg, as President of the republic, the announcement of the new Cabinet of M. Bartel, and the assumption by Marshal Pilsudski of his expected dictatorship at the middle of the month. The basis of the dictatorship was finally found in the Marshal's appointment as permanent commander-in-chief of the armies, now numbering nearly 300,000 and with a potential strength of 400,000, regardless of parlia-

mentary checks or Cabinet interference—tantamount to a revival of the extraordinary military powers which the Marshal enjoyed five years ago as supreme head of the State. This vast power may, of course, be employed only in keeping the Government within the lines which the dictator favors, especially in preventing the dilatory and inefficient methods which were at least the ostensible provocation of the coup d'état. But it may also be used in operations against Soviet Russia, for which Pilsudski still cherishes bitter hatred.

That Pilsudski has in mind among other

things a thorough reconstruction of the political machinery of the republic is beyond doubt. Failing to obtain from the Sejm a new electoral law, he made it clear that he would look to a new Parliament for the desired legislation; and on June 22, after days of bitter wrangling and indescribable confusion, the old body gave way and agreed to pass out of existence, only to reassemble after a few days and renew its aimless discussions. The proposed electoral law undertook to penalize candidates for office receiving less than 1,000 votes (the object being to discourage futile candidates, especially of Socialists, which serve only the purposes of propaganda), to revise the system of proportional representation so that the two houses would contain about 300 members instead of the present 555, and to advance the minimum voting age of 24. To add to the confusion, widespread Socialist disturbances at Lodz, Lemberg and other places resulted in the issuing of decrees on June 28 practically declaring a state of martial law throughout the land; while on July 1 it was announced that the dictator had been compelled to resort to a sanitarium on the Lithuanian border for treatment of a nervous disorder.

Meanwhile, in accordance with plans which have been maturing for months, Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer, Professor of Economics at Princeton University and President of the American Economic Association, sailed in June at the head of a commission of experts to make a thorough study of the financial and economic situation in Poland and to collaborate with the Warsaw Government in working out a comprehensive financial policy for the republic. Dr. Kemmerer made a preliminary study of the problem during a two-weeks' visit to Poland last December.



A NICE "GUARDIAN"
 "Poland is the guardian of freedom and civilization in Eastern Europe."
 —Magdeburgische Zeitung

Hungary

HUNGARIAN finances, considered to be on a firm basis once more, were released from the supervision of the League of Nations, and this act terminated the highly important and successful services of the High Commissioner, Jeremiah Smith.

Parliament adjourned at the end of June until October, after a session considered the most interesting since the war, not only because of the dramatic debates precipitated by the counterfeiting scandal, but also because of discussions of reconstruction of the House of Magnates and of the extension of voting by secret ballot to the country districts. Both of these important matters were, however, postponed.

The first open proclamation issued by the Hungarian royalist organization, founded in April for the purpose of carrying on propaganda for the placing of Empress Zita's eldest son, Otto, on the throne of St. Stephen, was published in the *Pester Lloyd* of June 3. On June 12 a great public meeting of the "Holy Crown" (the royalist organization) was attended by Hungarian aristocrats of all parties and addressed by the 80-year-old Count Albert Apponyi. Unlike most Hungarian political societies, the Holy Crown appears to be

open and above board, both in its objects and its methods.

Bulgaria

AT the end of May the Sobranye ratified the treaty with Turkey, signed at Angora on Oct. 28, 1925. Delay at Sofia had caused much bad feeling among the Turks, who believed it to be a Bulgarian manoeuvre in connection with the Mosul dispute, but it is expected that Bulgar-Turkish relations will now gradually grow more cordial.

Plans were completed early in July by the trustees of the American schools of Samokov for the erection of a series of buildings to house an American university in the suburbs of Sofia. The Bulgarian Government has donated the necessary ground and a quantity of timber. About a million dollars—one-fourth of it already in hand—will be spent upon the enterprise. The institution will be open to both sexes and is intended to take care of hundreds of students in the Near East.

Czechoslovakia

TARIFF legislation in June precipitated stormy times in the lower house of Parliament and came near causing a general political crisis. The Agrarians imposed new and higher rates on wheat, barley and other agricultural products, over the stiff opposition of the Socialists and Communists, but not until Deputies of the latter groups had indulged in greater physical violence in the chamber than had been seen since the country gained its independence. Many members were subsequently suspended for their part in the disorder.

In the course of the controversy Dr. Benes, Foreign Minister, was called upon by his own party, the National Socialists, to retire from the Czerny Cabinet; and the Social Democrats joined in the demand, which was emphasized by a popular strike lasting one hour against the new duties. President Masaryk firmly refused to ask for or to countenance the Minister's resignation, saying that under no circumstances would his high services to the republic be allowed to be terminated as a result of a situation purely domestic and calling for

no such sacrifice. Dr. Benes's stay at the Little Entente conference at Bled beginning on June 17 was, however, shortened, and his influence considerably impaired by the uncertainty of his future status.

During May and June the country was disturbed also by a growing Fascist movement, which in the Czech lands, aims at the ousting of German and Jewish factory owners, the restricting of Jewish industrial activities to a fixed proportion of the total population, the expulsion of all foreigners from German-owned plants and the setting up of a new form of government with a different Constitution and a stronger executive. In Slovakia Fascism lays emphasis upon the need of throwing out the "godless" men at the head of the republic. Great anti-Fascist meetings were held in Prague and elsewhere, and it was reliably reported that the Fascist cause stood no chance of succeeding and was, in fact, already waning.

Greece

WE have no imperialistic designs," Foreign Minister Roupfos of Greece declared to an Associated Press correspondent in June. "We have no secret alliance with Italy or any other country. We must devote all our time, energy and money to the economic reconstruction of our country. It would be idle for us to go to war while we still are suffering so grievously from the terrible consequences of the Smyrna disaster." He added that no country would be more ready than Greece to welcome and support a Balkan understanding "built upon an enduring foundation of peace, trust and mutual helpfulness."

The funding of the Greek war debt to the United States has been indefinitely postponed. Confronted with a demand from Athens that the unpaid balance of a promised American loan be paid prior to negotiation for a funding agreement, the Debt Funding Commission at Washington sought the advice of the Senate Finance Committee late in June and was told that the committee had decided to take no action at the current session. In the interview cited above, M. Roupfos said that his Government is eager to reach an ad-

justment with the United States; but, he added, "our present financial burdens are so heavy and our means so diminished that we must beg the forbearance of your Government for a while longer."

Departure from Greece at the middle of June of Rear Admiral Townsend, head of the British Naval Mission to Greece, with the other five members of the mission, brought their activities to a premature end. The contract was abrogated by the Greek Government, ostensibly for reasons of economy, but apparently also from considerations of a personal and political character. The mission—not the first that the British Government has lent to the Hellenic Navy—arrived in Greece in April, 1925, and proposed to put into effect a scheme of training for the naval service.

The former Queen Olga of Greece, whose life was embittered of late years by the numerous tragedies that have struck down her royal family, died on June 19, in her seventy-sixth year, at her home, the Villa Anastasia, in Rome. Her husband, King George I, was assassinated at Saloniki in March, 1913.

Mgr. Meletios Metaxakis, formerly known as Meletios IV, Patriarch of Constantinople, who was dethroned by King Constantine of Greece and expelled by the Turks in 1922, and is well known in England and America as an advocate of unity among the Apostolic communions, has been elected Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria. He has resumed his old title as head of the Eastern Church and hopes to make Alexandria once more the real capital of the faith.

Mr. Robert P. Skinner, Consul General at Paris, has been appointed American Minister to Greece, succeeding Mr. Irwin B. Laughlin.

Rumania

DISPATCHES of July 1 reported the intention of the Bucharest Government to open negotiations with Russia with a view to recognizing the Soviet Government. In return, according to the account, Rumania proposes to obtain promises from Moscow that no further efforts will be made to retrieve Bessarabia. A state

of siege has long existed in this disputed territory, and raids from Russian bases are not infrequent. Premier Averescu considers that there will be no improvement of the situation until regular diplomatic relations are established between the two interested States. Provided Russia makes no counter claims, Rumania will not, it is reported, press her claim for the return of the \$75,000,000 in gold which was sent to Moscow in 1916 for safekeeping, nor will she seek compensation for the confiscation by the Bolsheviki of the Rumanian crown jewels—both items now having been written off as "war losses." It is interesting to recall that General Averescu, as Premier in 1921, was on the point of opening negotiations with the Soviets when he was replaced by Bratiano.

Abrogation of the restrictive measures against the flow of foreign capital into Rumania is expected to be among the earlier acts of the Averescu Government, and special encouragement is promised American promoters and investors. This would mean a sharp reversal of the policy of the late Bratiano régime, which is characterized by the present Premier as altogether too nationalistic.

Jugoslavia

STEPHEN RADITCH, Croatian leader, has returned to Zagreb from a period of rest at the seashore and is again actively campaigning, with one supreme object, i.e., to prevent the veteran ex-Premier Pashitch from ever regaining power. Raditch admits that his earlier policy of Croatian autonomy and non-collaboration was a mistake, and is prepared to accept the Constitution, "poor as it is," to support the King, for whom he professes much admiration, and even to work with Pashitch's Radical Party—if only its old leader, characterized as "belonging to another age," is kept in retirement. The immediate reforms for which he labors are the establishment of communal self-government in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Voivodina and Dalmatia, and the suppression of the five different systems of taxation prevailing in the different provinces, as a step toward tax equalization.

Soviet's Efforts to Deal With Peasant Problem

Farmers' Demand for Cheaper Goods—Revival of Trade Between America and Russia—Russo-French Debt Negotiations—Jews Given Land for Autonomous Republic

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

Assistant Professor of History, Yale University

THE Soviet Government is engrossed with its major domestic problem: the peasants, their produce and their need for manufactured goods. Stalin and his associates at Moscow are particularly anxious to satisfy the peasant; otherwise, there is little chance for the ultimate success of the Soviet régime and their own retention of power. But to satisfy the peasant the Government must get manufactured goods distributed in sufficient quantity and at a fair price. Where the State cooperative stores have been unable to meet the requirements, private traders have therefore been allowed to operate, even to the disadvantage of the State cooperatives and without consideration for Communist theory. In turn, the Government has endeavored to keep the peasants from holding back their grain for higher prices, because the Government has not only to supply the urban areas with food-stuffs but also to secure a surplus for export.

In its attempt to manage the Soviet Union as one big business organization the Soviet Government must look to a favorable balance of exports over imports for permanent additions of capital with which to expand its industries. Taxes on the peasantry have already been lowered for political reasons. Foreign Governments have shown themselves reluctant to sponsor loans to Soviet Russia. Foreign companies which would import capital in return for concessions have to be given guarantees. In order to have additional capital which it can use without hindrances of one sort or another, the Soviet Government must get a surplus from domestic agriculture and market that surplus in the outside world.

Figures for the period from Oct. 1, 1925, to April 1, 1926, however, show that the unfavorable balance of imports over exports amounted to \$35,572,000. The relation between exports and imports, of course, does not tell whole story of the economic and financial conditions in a country. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Soviet leaders have reason to be extremely eager for a good harvest this year. With a good harvest they hope to maintain a steady exchange of manufactured goods for agricultural products at moderate prices for both buyer and seller, so that there will be neither dumping nor hoarding and so that, after all domestic needs, urban and rural, have been met, there will be a surplus for export.

The revival of trade between the United States and Russia during the past year encouraged American financiers to reorganize the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, which had been practically inoperative since 1920. The directorate of this organization consists of bankers, exporters, manufacturers and engineers who are particularly interested in supplying Russia with capital and credits, with raw cotton and rubber, with machinery, tools and automotive equipment. The announcement of their renewed activity at once raised the question whether they would seek to persuade the American Government to recognize the Soviet Government. Reeve Schley, President of the Chamber and Vice President of the Chase National Bank of New York, stated specifically:

We will stay out of politics and confine our activities to those generally associated with trade bodies, and within those limits we will do all possible to facilitate trade with Russia. * * * As far as recognition is concerned, the Chamber has not adopted any policy. * * * We have not

taken the matter up with the State Department, but, of course, we will not do anything of which the State Department does not approve.

Inquirers at the Department of State found that the attitude of the United States Government had not changed since Dec. 18, 1923, when Secretary Hughes replied to Tchitcherin: "The American Government, as the President said in his message to Congress, is not proposing to barter away its principles." Mr. Hughes informed the Commissar of Foreign Affairs at that time that the Soviet authorities were at liberty to restore the confiscated property of American citizens or make effective compensation; that they could repeal the decree repudiating Russian obligations to the United States and recognize those obligations appropriately; and that the continued propaganda against the institutions of the United States must be abandoned before the United States Government could enter into any negotiations with the Soviet Government.

Although pleased to observe that American exporters led the world in shipments to Russia, high officials at Washington saw no reason for letting that fortuitous circumstance alter the conditions upon which the Soviet Government may obtain recognition from the American Government and regain for Russia the confidence of the American public. Individual Americans may be ready to take business risks in Russia; the Government of the United States is not prepared as yet to assume similar responsibilities for the whole American people.

The Russian press followed closely the reports of the attacks of British Conservatives upon the Soviet Government because of the contributions to the British strike fund by the Russian Trades Unions. The general comment in Russia was to the effect that the outbursts of Winston Churchill and other British leaders strengthened the hold of Stalin and his group upon the Russian masses, among whom Great Britain stands for imperialism and aggression in Persia, India and China.

The Soviet's negotiations with Germany for credits of \$80,000,000 lagged after the commercial treaty had been signed because the German banks and business firms balked at the rates of interest and condi-

tions of sale upon which the Russian purchasing agencies insisted. On June 12, Rykov, President of the Council of Commissars, endeavored to frighten the Germans into acceptance of the Russian proposals by directing the Commissariat of Commerce to divert orders intended for Germany to other countries, if their terms were not inferior. Even if Rykov's move was little more than a gesture, it displayed a self-confidence characteristic of Soviet Russia.

Information came from Paris on June 19 that the French and Soviet diplomats who had been in conference for some weeks over the problem of Russian bonds held in France had reached the point where they felt the need of a Summer's vacation. Another dispatch was released from Paris on the same day. It said that the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Government had studied the buying capacity of Soviet industries and had found them capable of purchasing in France during the next three years \$150,000,000 worth of machinery and manufactured products. There was nothing mysterious in these coincident announcements. Two weeks before, a correspondent of the London *Times* had learned from reliable sources that the Soviet Government had repudiated the offer which the Soviet delegation in Paris had been willing to make for settlement of Russian debts to France.

Throughout the negotiations, the Russians had tried to discuss new commercial credits and future relationships. The French had urged consideration of old debts and past obligations. When the Soviet Government persisted in refusing to grant official recognition of the debts, the French authorities conceded the point on condition that the Soviet Government nevertheless make payments for the benefit of French holders of old Russian bonds. The Soviet Government might maintain its legal point, if the French bondholders got some practical reimbursement. It seems that the Soviet diplomats at Paris accepted the principle of this arrangement and began to negotiate for specific terms.

The French proposed that the Soviet Government pay 125,000,000 gold francs into the French Treasury annually for two years—about 30 per cent. of the pay

ment formerly made by the Czarist Government. The French Government would use three-quarters of the sum to indemnify holders of Russian bonds and the other quarter to secure commercial credits for Russian enterprises. During those two years, final agreement could be reached upon the basis of Russia's present economic and financial situation. On its part, the Soviet delegation, presumably after communication with the Government in Moscow, declared that the Soviet Government would pay 40,000,000 gold francs annually—10 per cent. of the annual interest payment by the Czarist Government before the war—provided France would accept such payments for sixty-two years as settlement of the whole debt. The French were not satisfied with the counter-proposal, but they did not actually refuse the offer. Conferences had begun and a com-

promise seemed about to be reached on the basis of 60,000,000 gold francs annually—three-fourths for bondholders and one-fourth for commercial credits—when the Soviet Government denied that it had authorized the original offer of the Soviet delegation.

Whatever the underlying reasons for this action, the Soviet authorities at Moscow have rejected, for the present at least, any agreement with France based upon pre-war obligations. They have offered to France only the advantages of the future. Americans who scorn the Soviet leaders for such a policy and who declare that an honest man pays his debts do not fully appreciate the force of two prevailing emotions in Russia: hatred for everything related to the old Czarist régime and confidence in the future of the Russian people.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

AT the end of another month, negotiations were still hanging fire for neutrality pacts between the Soviet Union and the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Finland. The Soviet leaders were seemingly much exercised over the possibility that Poland under Pilsudski might gain control over the Baltic States and turn them against the Soviet Union. *Isvestia* at Moscow talked of economic pressure upon Poland by excluding Polish goods from markets to the East. Among political leaders in the Baltic States, however, the opinion was current that these Russian remarks were tactical moves to break up the concert of the Baltic States and to deal with them separately.

It was announced in Moscow on July 9 that Birk, the Estonian Minister to the Soviet Union, had been removed from that position by his Government. According to authoritative information, on receiving the order recalling him to Reval, Birk broke off relations with the Estonian Government, with which he was not in accord on questions of foreign policy, particularly in regard to the proposed Polish-Baltic bloc, and left the Estonian Legation without notifying his subordinates.

After leaving Moscow Birk went to South Russia, intending subsequently to visit Turkey and France.

The new Lithuanian Parliament, as organized following the elections in May, is constituted as follows:

Christian Democratic Bloc:

Christian Democrats	14
Farmers' Union	11
Workers' Federation	5

Liberal Groups:

Populists	22
Nationalists	3
Farmers' Party	2

Minorities:

Jews	3
Poles	4
German	1

Social Democrats

Klaipeda Territory (Memel):

"Landswirtpartei"	3
"Volkspartei"	2

Control has slipped from the hands of the Christian Democratic bloc. The new Government will evidently be dominated by the Populists.

Word came via Riga, Latvia, on June 8, that Dr. Kasmir Grinin, Premier from 1920 to 1922, had been elected President of Lithuania. A. B. D.

Revolution in Spain Narrowly Averted

*Plot to End De Rivera Regime and Assassinate King Alfonso Fails—
Eighteen Generals Implicated—Da Costa Dictator in Portugal—Nor-
wegian Strike Settlement—Danish-German Treaty*

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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PLOT and counterplot, involving revolution and an attempt to assassinate King Alfonso, troubled the political waters of Spain during the past month. Prominent republicans, Communists, syndicalists and literary men, as well as army officers, were among those arrested as leaders in the movement. Although General Primo de Rivera's Government, by severe and efficient police measures, was able to prevent the culmination of the plot and avert general disorder, the situation throughout the country remained uneasy and censorship of communications and the press was strictly enforced. Fears for the loyalty of the army, expressed by friends of de Rivera's régime, proved unfounded and by July 7 the conspiracy appeared to have failed completely.

A manifesto bearing the names of Generals Valeriano Weyler, former Chief of the General Staff, and Francisco Aguilera, former Minister of War, calling for a reversion to the constitutional Government prevailing before Sept. 13, 1923, when de Rivera assumed the dictatorship, was discovered in a valise stolen by police agents from General Weyler while traveling from Madrid to Barcelona. On the night of June 23, police began arresting those most directly implicated in the conspiracy, narrowly averting the coup d'état, which had been planned for the following evening. Further arrests, indicating the ramifications of the movement, followed, until press reports stated that about four hundred persons, including eighteen generals in the army, had been apprehended. Among those arrested were Señor Melquiades Alvarez, former President of the

Chamber of Deputies; the republicans Marcelino, Domingo and Barriobero, the Communist leader Juan Andrade, the syndicalist Salvador Quemades, and Dr. Maranon, celebrated physician and Vice President of the Ateneo, the foremost cultural and literary society of Spain. General Weyler, who reached his estate at Palma, Majorca, was ordered confined there. The Count de Romanones, warned that his arrest was intended, fled in an automobile to France, reaching Hendaye, where General Austin Luque, former War Minister and High Commissioner of Morocco, was also awaiting developments.

The Cabinet was reported in continuous session for several days after the discovery of the plot. Public telephone communication between the principal cities of Spain was suspended by the authorities. The press was rigidly held to the official version of the affair, and no placards or news bills alluding to it were allowed to be posted. The public of Madrid, however, displayed little interest in the conspiracy. The consensus of opinion throughout the capital appeared to be that the plot was not inspired by patriotic motives, but by dissatisfaction among the political "outs," new tax laws and the introduction of advancement by selection in the army instead of seniority promotion. On the other hand, the size of the movement was cited by some press dispatches sent from the French side of the Pyrenees as evidence of a growing desire in Spain for a return to the form of government existing before de Rivera's coup. Although no longer dictator in name, de Rivera, it was claimed, still assumed all the extraordinary powers

of that office and refused to carry out the wishes of Parliament or permit general elections.

An official statement given out on July 3 declared that severe fines would be imposed on those guilty of conspiring against the Government and rigorous measures taken to arrest them, but that the Government hoped to be able to avoid bloodshed and disorders. In an earlier bulletin the Government claimed to have known of the conspiracy for two months, delaying action to the last moment for the purpose of discovering the names of all persons connected with it.

Unofficial sources stated that King Alfonso was informed of the plot, but decided not to cancel his intended trip to Paris and London because he believed that such action would accentuate the importance of the movement. Forty-eight hours before the train bearing King Alfonso and Queen Victoria arrived in Paris, French police seized Abadia Francesco Ascaso and Buonaventure Duretti, alleging that they were anarchists and had, with others who escaped, perfected plans to assassinate the King and Queen upon their arrival. Both men had criminal records and the police declared that under questioning they admitted an intention to wait at a station on the outskirts of Paris where the royal train would stop and to shoot the King with pistols or carbines if they could catch sight of him. The plot was not disclosed until King Alfonso had arrived in England, after spending four days driving about Paris, during which he several times brought the chief of the Paris police force to the verge of collapse by recklessly exposing himself. On his arrival in London special precautions were taken by Scotland Yard officials because of a rumor that three accomplices of Ascaso and Duretti had made their way to England.

Portugal

FOLLOWING disagreements between Commander Mendes Cabecadas, General Manuel Gomes da Costa and Major Armando da Gama Ochoa, the triumvirate which assumed the power of the Government in Portugal after the revolution of May 29, General da Costa on June 17

marched his army into Lisbon and seized control of the State. The June coup, like that of the preceding month, was without bloodshed, and seemed to be as well received by the citizens of the capital as the earlier one. General da Costa immediately put Lisbon under martial law and on June 27 installed himself as supreme ruler of Portugal. An official decree published on that date conferred upon him all the powers and prerogatives of the Government.

Four changes in the ministry during the nine days following the May revolution quickly indicated that the political earthquake had not yet settled back into equilibrium. In the friction which began between General da Costa and Commander Cabecadas the army threw its weight on the side of the general, emphasizing its decision by military demonstrations. Da Costa interpreted the demonstrations as expressing a desire for him to seize the Government and early on June 17 began to close in on Lisbon with his forces. Before nightfall his troops, well equipped, had taken possession of the public buildings and Commander Cabecadas, following a curt note from Da Costa refusing his cooperation, went through the formality of resigning his office as Prime Minister. Da Costa next requested the remaining members of the Cabecadas Cabinet to make known their attitude.

The proclamation of martial law for the municipality of Lisbon followed on June 18, and several persons suspected of disaffection toward the new régime were arrested. It was believed that many political prisoners would be exiled with their families. Communications and newspapers were drastically censored. The importation of arms and ammunition except for sport was prohibited. The Portuguese Royalists have repeatedly denied any connection with either of the recent coups.

A Cabinet headed by General da Costa was finally established on June 20. This Government was not destined to survive for long, however, for on July 9 General Carmona, who had just been dismissed from the Foreign Office, effected another "peaceful revolution" by arresting General da Costa. General Carmona immediately

assumed the offices of Prime Minister and Minister of War and organized the following Cabinet:

Gen. SINEL DE CORDES—Finance.
Dr. MANUEL RODRIGUEZ—Justice.
Gen. TEIXEIRA BOTELHO—Education.
Commander JAIME AFREIXO—Marine.
Lieut. Col. PASSOS SOUSA—Commerce.
SIDONIO PAIS—Foreign Affairs.
Gen. ALVES PEDROSA—Agriculture.
Commander JOAO BALO—Colonies.

On the previous day General da Costa had abolished the existing censorship of the press.

Three hundred Chinese pirates were killed in a raid on Macao, the Portuguese island colony off the coast of China, on June 15, and one hundred and fifty, including their leader, Tschung, were captured. According to a Lisbon dispatch, the Governor of Macao notified the Minister of Colonies of the engagement.

Sweden

THE fact that 750,000 persons, about one in every eight persons in Sweden, held deposits in the Postal Savings Bank of Sweden, in addition to those who made use of the numerous private banks in the country, was cited by the director of the bank, Johannes Doss, as evidence of the revival of prosperity in Sweden and the solidity of the country's economic structure.

The press reception of the new Ekman Cabinet was on the whole favorable. The Social-Democratic organs remained bitter, however, accusing Mr. Ekman of withdrawing his support of the Sandler Government in order to become Premier himself. Holding the balance of power, he had previously exercised authority without responsibility. Now let him take the responsibility, too, the Labor press said, in effect. Mr. Ekman is a self-made man. Born of peasant stock and receiving his education in the public schools,

he became an organizer of the temperance movement and editor of a country daily. Before forty he was elected a Senator and rapidly made himself felt as a man of force and ability. Since the death of Hjalmar Branting, his has been the outstanding personality in the Swedish Riksdag.

Holland

THE satisfactory economic situation existing in Holland was commented upon with considerable complacency by the Dutch press during the month. For the first five months of the year, imports totaled 1,010,000,000 guilders as compared with 1,003,000,000 guilders for the same period of 1925. Exports were valued at 658,000,000 guilders, as against 717,000,000, the excess of imports this year being 352,000,000 as opposed to last year's 285,000,000.

The development in general trade conditions throughout Holland and the Dutch colonies was reflected by substantial increases in the deposits made with the large banks as well as on the Stock Exchange and the money market. Large profits earned by many companies with interests in the Dutch East Indies are considered



OH, PORTUGAL, MY PORTUGAL!
"Put on your Sunday clothes! There's to be a revolution this afternoon."

—Simplicissimus, Munich

chiefly responsible for the improvement. The Socialist Party, controlling twenty-four of the one hundred seats in the lower house of the States-General and claiming the support of nearly 200,000 trade unionists, are pushing on a campaign for national disarmament.

Denmark

A REPORT that Denmark expected to return to the gold standard before the end of the year sent the krone up to 26.52½ cents, the highest quotation since January, 1918. In June, 1925, the krone was quoted at about 18.86 cents. Greatly increased exports of dairy products during the last three months was considered an additional factor in the rapid rise of the krone. Denmark has not been using the gold standard since Aug. 2, 1914.

A comprehensive treaty of arbitration and conciliation between Germany and Denmark was signed in Berlin on June 2. A provision of the treaty stated that in the event of friction, if the contracting parties fail to agree on a Chairman of the Council of Conciliation, the King of Sweden shall be asked to name a Chairman.

The Danish Supreme Court decided that the Trade Union Council of Denmark must pay 130,000 kroner damages for "maliciously" interfering with the affairs of a number of farmers. It was contended by the farmers that they suffered heavy losses when they were unable to obtain necessary farm hands because of a union boycott.

Norway

A PRELIMINARY agreement, reached on May 31, between the representatives of employers and workmen was ratified on June 9 after being the subject of a referendum among the strikers, thus ending the deadlock which had lasted since April 24. The agreement included the iron, textile and boot industries but not the building trades. It was estimated that the loss to the country would equal 50,000,000 kroner. The strike affected about 30,000 workmen. A reduction of about 17 per cent. in wages was accepted by the trades. That was the figure suggested by the arbitral council on April 16, but rejected by the vote of a large majority of the workmen.

[TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST]

Alleged Plot Against Mustapha Kemal

Mosul Agreement Ratified—British Pressure Causes Zaghlul to Forego Egyptian Premiership—French High Commissioner in Syria Presents Report to League—New Persian Cabinet—Palestine National Council Complains to League

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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A DANGEROUS plot against the life of President Mustapha Kemal Pasha was reported to have been discovered at Smyrna on June 18, just before his arrival in the city. The same dispatch stated that a special tribunal had already reached Smyrna, that arrests had been made, and that confessions had been obtained. Such inconsistency as regards time strengthened the suspicions of some, who doubted the existence of a plot, and considered the episode another attack by

the Government upon the "Progressive Party," which endeavored a year or so ago to organize a regular opposition to the group in power. Be that as it may, a number of prominent persons were imprisoned, both at Smyrna and Constantinople. Ali Bey, President of the dreaded Tribunal of Independence, declared that the plot was no small matter, but "a political conspiracy, having as its object the overthrow of the Government for the benefit of a political group which



THE TREATY OF ANGORA

John Bull: Good! I keep my place, and for every dollar I earn you get 10 cents!

—*De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam*

has been working in the dark as a secret committee." Many telegrams were sent to Mustapha Kemal, congratulating him upon his escape. He replied with a message in which he declared that the plot was directed not so much against himself as against the Turkish republic and its principals.

At an earlier date in June the National Assembly ratified the Mosul agreement with Great Britain and Iraq. Many Deputies and much popular sentiment regretted the compromise, as unfavorable to Turkey, and forced by circumstances. The terms of the Treaty were as previously announced (see CURRENT HISTORY, July, 1926, page 604) with the addition of stipulations looking toward good, neighborly relations between Turkey and Iraq. Both sides are to prohibit armed bands from crossing a neutral zone 75 kilometers (47 miles) in depth, to abstain from propaganda, and to extradite offenders. Disagreements will come before a permanent commission of Turks and Iraqis, which will meet at least once every six months. The question of a loan to

Turkey from Britain appears to be bound up with the proposal to adjust the payment of the Turkish share of the Ottoman pre-war debt.

Bulgarian opposition to the agreement with Turkey, ratified by the Bulgarian Parliament on May 27, was chiefly based upon an annexed protocol concerning refugees, which provides that emigrants must take the nationality of the country where they reside, and may not return to their former places of residence; such of them as left after Oct. 18, 1912 (the beginning of the Balkan Wars), lose title to property in their countries of origin, which reverts to their respective Governments. The Bulgarians declared that the number of Bulgarians who have left Turkey is about 200,000, as against a much smaller number of Turks who have left Bulgaria, and the property left behind is proportionately unequal. Nevertheless the treaty was ratified.

The population of Constantinople was recently affirmed to be 1,011,165 persons, of whom 682,811 were Turks, 181,188

Greeks, 60,831 Armenians, 57,532 Jews and 3,194 Bulgarians.

About the beginning of the present year there were reported in Turkey some 4,800 primary schools, with 9,000 teachers and 302,500 pupils; seventy-one middle schools, of which fifty-six with 4,800 pupils were for boys and fifteen with 1,000 pupils were for girls; twenty high schools with 4,500 boys and 1,100 girls, and two universities (at Constantinople and Angora), beside some normal colleges.

Egypt

FOLLOWING the sweeping victory of his supporters in the elections, Zaghlul Pasha thought for a time of assuming once more the rôle of Prime Minister. This the British Government was resolved to prevent, unless perhaps at the price of his acceptance of their point of view as regards the four points reserved in the "Declaration regarding Egypt" of 1922 (see CURRENT HISTORY, April, 1922, page 163.) Pressure was brought to bear in several ways. Lord Lloyd, the British High Commissioner, sent for Zaghlul and stated the British point of view. British warships were ordered to concentrate upon Egyptian ports. Rumors began to circulate that Great Britain might withdraw the Declaration and resume more direct control of Egypt. This move would, however, have been extraordinarily illogical even for British minds, since it is hard to see how a recognition of independence can be reversed. One writer said, however: "England holds an unparalleled reputation as the fashioner, slow but ingenious, of political systems, and it surely will not be beyond her power, through the admirable medium of Lord Lloyd, to give to political science a new connotation of independence, in which the actual and the theoretical conditions of sovereignty are more nicely laid down than they have been hitherto." A more direct formula was expressed elsewhere to the effect that Zaghlul had never recognized the four reservations, which were integrally connected with the recognition of independence, and therefore, in spite of his choice by the Egyptian people, Great Britain was justified in refusing to allow him to become Premier.

Additional pressure resulted from the timely resignation of Judge Kershaw, presiding Judge in the trial of seven Egyptians accused in connection with the murder two years ago of Sir Lee Stack. The men were all acquitted, and the British Judge announced that this had been done against the evidence, and as a purely political move on the part of the Egyptian Judges. The British Government refused to accept the judgment, as impairing the safety of foreigners in Egypt.

In view of these circumstances, Zaghlul Pasha abandoned his desire to become Prime Minister once more, and agreed that the position should be held by Adly Pasha Yeghen, Zaghlul to content himself with the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies. On June 7 the resignation of Ziwar Pasha was accepted by the King, and the following Ministry was appointed:

ADLY YECHEN PASHA—Premier and Minister of Interior.

ABD-EL KHALEK SARVAT PASHA—Foreign Minister.

MORCOS HANNA PASHA—Minister of Finance.

ZAKI PASHA ABD-EL SEUD—Minister of Justice.

KAMEL BEY KHASABA—Minister of War.

MOHAMMED PASHA MAHMOUD—Communications.

NEGUIB PASHA GHARABLI—Pious Foundations.

FATHALIA BARAKAT PASHA—Agriculture.

PSMAN MOHARAM PASHA—Public Works.

Egypt's fourth Parliament was opened on June 10, with the established ceremony, in the presence of King Fuad and Lord Lloyd. Adly Pasha read the speech from the throne, in which he affirmed the intention to strengthen the Parliamentary régime (which has been in abeyance during the eighteen months of Ziwar Pasha's premiership), and to compel every one to respect the Constitution. On the crucial question of relations between Great Britain and Egypt he said:

The Government particularly concerns itself to establish between the British and Egyptian nations and their respective Governments mutual confidence and cordial relations, and to prepare an atmosphere of good understanding which will permit Egypt to enjoy complete independence. The Government considers that the measures taken in the Sudan cannot impair Egypt's legitimate claims, which remain what they were, and will do all that is possible to reach in this connection a solution giving Egypt satisfaction.

Parliament proceeded to elect Zaghul Pasha as its President. In his speech of acceptance he said that Adly Pasha was not Prime Minister as a Liberal, but because he represented the idea of national union. The Wafd Party supports the Cabinet, but not blindly, and they will criticize whatever they do not approve.

The receipts of the Suez Canal Company for 1925 amounted to more than \$38,000,000, an increase of 4 per cent. over 1924, and a dividend of 425 francs per share was declared. Ships numbering 5,337 passed through the canal, with a total net tonnage of nearly 27,000,000, the highest ever reached.

Syria

M. DE JOUVENEL, the French High Commissioner, appeared at Geneva in June before the Permanent Commission on Mandates of the League of Nations, and explained the course of events in Syria so well that no action was taken looking toward further investigation in advance of the Autumn meeting of the Commission.

Meantime little if any evident progress was being made toward settlement in Syria, while economic conditions in the disturbed area near Damascus and the Druse Mountains were steadily becoming worse. Savage fighting was continuing in the gardens around Damascus.

Before leaving Syria near the end of May, de Jouvenel had proposed terms of peace and promised amnesty if arms should be laid down by June 15. The insurgent Druses and Syrians, conscious of the insecure position of the French Government and its difficult financial condition, presented counter terms which involved such demands as the following: The payment by France of \$25,000,000 for damage done by artillery and aircraft, withdrawal of all French forces, expulsion of Armenians and Circassians, and the conclusion of a seven years' treaty with France, which should be registered with the League of Nations.

It is reported to have been impossible to gather the apricot crop in the Damascus orchards because of combined sniping on the part of insurgents and French soldiers. Business is reduced to very small proportions in the formerly proud city. Three

bombardments have laid a large part of it in ruins. The French continue to employ methods of "civilized warfare" by means of machine guns, artillery and bombs dropped from aircraft upon orchards and villages. Their Syrian opponents, with less equipment, operate in bands of 100 to 200 men which harass the French wherever possible while avoiding frontal attacks. The French hold the cities and maintain communications under military protection. French soldiers are quoted as desiring one of two alternatives: evacuation or the sending of an additional army of perhaps 50,000 men, sufficient to subdue the country thoroughly by force.

Sultan Pasha Atrash, Commander-in-Chief of the Druses in their war against the French, sent on June 20 a message to the American people through The Associated Press. He denied that the Druses are making war on Christians, and stated that the revolt is against atrocities committed by French colonizing agents. He complains that the French have incited Christian Syrians to make war on the Druses, and disclaims responsibility for the death of such as have fallen fighting thus. "We make," he said, "no distinction in religions or sects, as our only aim is to protect our legal rights. * * * We wish to avoid all acts that might touch the feelings of natives or foreigners in Syria, with the exception of those who show us hostility or who become spies against us." He signs himself "the leader of the armies of the Syrian national revolution." At the same time Emil Amin Mustapha Arslan stated that "there will be no peace until the French offer the revolutionists as a whole very liberal terms in writing, guaranteed by a third power, preferably the United States, or, as a last resort, the League of Nations."

Persia

EARLY in June the Prime Minister, Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Farrughi, handed in his resignation, on account, it is said, of his general inaction and, in particular, his failure to relieve the scarcity of bread and to prevent military interference at elections, all of which difficulties were

reacting upon the popularity of the new Shah. Mirza Hassan Kahn Mostofi (formerly known as Mostofi el Mamelet) became head of a Cabinet which contained most of the members of its predecessor, and was expected to sit only until the assembling of the new Parliament in July.

Palestine

DR. WEIZMANN, President of the Zionist organization, visited Palestine in the Spring. He obtained from Lord Plumer, the British High Commissioner, a statement that no discrimination against Jews would be made in recruiting the Transjordan Defense Force. He advised as to the best course of action in view of the financial stringency, and is believed to have decided that the Palestine Foundation Fund must provide a larger budget than the present one of \$3,000,000 per year. He advised the Jewish National Council for Palestine to present to the Permanent Mandates Com-

mission of the League of Nations a memorandum of the claims and grievances of the Jewish community.

Such a statement was prepared and received by the commission (which, by the way, refused to receive officially a statement from the Syrians, who had much graver reasons for criticizing the French). British opinion is inclined to resent the charges of failure to provide land for Jewish colonization, to aid Jewish educational institutions sufficiently, and to encourage infant industries; also to legislate in favor of labor, to provide support for Jewish public health work and to recognize Hebrew fully as a language of the country.

Colonel George S. Symes represented the Government of Palestine before the Permanent Mandates Commission in June, and was reported to have made a favorable impression. He affirmed that, having been assured of the permanency of the mandate system, the Arabs have abandoned the policy of non-cooperation.

[THE FAR EAST]

Five Chinese Provinces United by General Sun

*Chang and Wu Meet—Yen Resigns as Premier—New Cabinet Formed—
Canton-Hongkong Strike and Customs Conference Still Unsettled—
Japanese Cabinet Reconstituted*

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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NO serious disturbances took place in Shanghai on May 30, the anniversary of the student shootings of 1925, but on that day General Sun Chuanfang, Governor-General of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi and Fukien provinces announced the formation of these five provinces into an independent State. These provinces in the very heart of China have a population about equal to that of the United States.

General Sun was reported to have said he applied the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to the federation. If good government emerged in Peking he would support it. If not, he would neither brook

interference from it nor interfere with it. This declaration of independence, which recalls the similar declaration by Chang Tso-lin with regard to Manchuria, in February (CURRENT HISTORY, April 1926, page 153) should not be taken too seriously. China has been and still is such an amorphous political organization that secession movements are not as significant as they would be if in Europe or America.

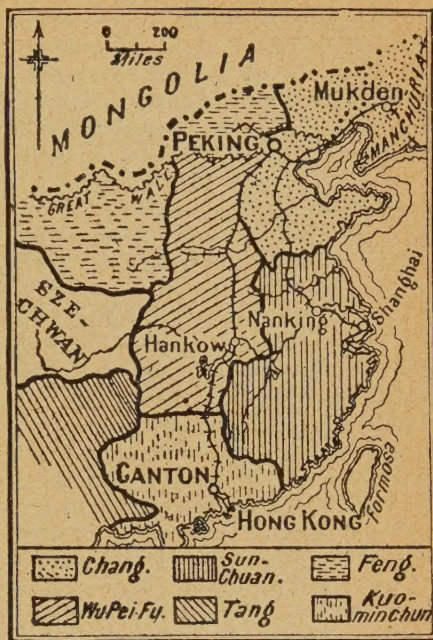
Described as an energetic man of fifty, General Sun received his military education in Japan and was appointed Tuli of Fukien in 1923 on Wu Pei-fu's insistence. In 1925, while Governor of Chekiang, he assisted General Chi Hsieh-yuan in captur-

ing Shanghai from Chang Tso-lin's Fengtien troops. In January, 1925, he appears to have inaugurated the present plan by announcing an alliance of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien, Szechuan and Anhwei provinces, and last April there was talk of his forming an alliance with Wu. At this time he consolidated all the districts around Shanghai into a greater municipality and appointed Dr. V. K. Ting, a geologist, graduate of Glasgow University and experienced administrator, as mayor. His object was so to perfect the administration that the Shanghai foreign settlement might be abolished.

Negotiations between representatives of Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu took place at Tien-tsin during June, and friction regarding distribution of spoils of office at once arose. A compromise, whereby Wu would appoint a cabinet for a fixed term after which Chang would appoint one has been agreed upon. The meeting between the two marshals, expected since their combined armies occupied Peking in April, took place during the last days of June. It proved a great disappointment to all parties as it was purely perfunctory and no important agreements were reached. The only definite outcome was that Chang approved Wu's desire to push the military campaign against the Kuo Minchun army. The popular opinion is that they are deliberately conniving to keep the Government weak in order to further their own interests.

Dr. W. W. Yen, Premier since May 13, resigned on June 22 with the conviction that he had been made the victim of military manoeuvring. Admiral Tu Chsi-kwei, Minister of the Navy, became Premier temporarily. Dr. Wellington Koo, former Chinese Minister at Washington, assumed charge of the Finance Ministry on June 16 and is discussed as a candidate for Premier. Yen Kuo-cheng was appointed Minister of Education and Tien Yin-huang, Minister of the Interior on June 22. On July 6 the new Cabinet held its first formal meeting, and Admiral Tsai Tingkan was appointed Acting Foreign Minister.

Establishment of a Government sufficiently stable to merit recognition by the powers depends to some extent on the pend-



The London Times

Map showing the areas over which the various rival Tuchuns (military Governors) in China claim authority

ing operations against the Kuo Minchun army, which, with some 200,000 men, is at Chang Ping Chow, a strong position twenty miles northwest of Peking. Wu is planning an attack from the west supported by Chang on the north and Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of Shansi, on the south. Wu's operations, which involve transporting troops over mountain donkey trails at an elevation of 9,500 feet, are said to be the most difficult undertaken in modern Chinese warfare.

Marshal Wu's Hankow forces under General Yeh Kai-hsin proceeded south through Hunan province in May, but in June were stopped by the combined forces of Tang Shen-hui of Hunan and Chang Kai-shek of Canton. The latter General has remained in Canton, but planned to leave for the front.

The Canton-Hongkong strike situation is unchanged. Sun Fo, son of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuo Min-tang party, was made Mayor of Canton on June 8. His predecessor, Dr. C. C. Wu, hurriedly left for Shanghai. The Hongkong

Government on June 17 appointed E. R. Halifax, Secretary General of Chinese Affairs, J. H. Kemp, Attorney General, and Mr. Brennan, British Consul at Canton, to negotiate with Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister of the Canton Government, with regard to termination of the boycott. The real force in Canton is not the Government, but General Chang Kai-shek, who controls the strikers. The latter have a Government of their own, with a picket corps of 3,000. On June 27 this corps killed five Chinese for violating boycott regulations, and on June 30 twenty-six picketers were reported killed by machine guns fired from British armed motor boats conveying supplies to British vessels off Shameen.

With the various military movements, unification of China does not seem an immediate prospect. There are at present six "satrapies," under super-Tuchuns, in a condition of hostility or of unstable alliance with each other. Manchuria, Shantung and part of Chihli to the northeast are controlled by Chang Tso-lin. Kalgan, Suiyuan, Kansu and part of Shensi, to the northwest are controlled by the Kuo Minchun army under Feng Yu-hsiang, who is now in Moscow. Anhwei, Kiangsu, Kiangsi, Chekiang and Fukien in East Central China have just been organized by Sun Chuan-fang. West of him, in Hupeh, Honan and parts of Chihli and Hunan, is the stronghold of Wu Pei-fu. The south coastal region of Kwantung and Kwangsi is controlled by the Kuo Min-tang party, with General Chang Kai-shek. General Tang Chi-yao rules west of here in Yunnan and Kweichow. The object of these Generals seems to be mainly personal ambition, though necessities of geographical position have thrown several of them into close relations with certain foreign powers. Thus Feng gets supplies from Russia, Chang from Japan, and Wu is encouraged by the British. They all, however, find the growing consciousness of nationalism the safest string to play on among their Chinese followers. Foreign States which offend this nationalism at once lose influence, as witness the recent decline in Russian prestige. This nationalism may eventually lead to unification as it has in European States, but the process will doubtless be slow.

The present lack of unity makes diplo-

matic negotiation more or less futile, even when a nominal Government exists at Peking. Thus the Customs Conference and Extraterritoriality Commission have difficulty in concluding their labors, in spite of seven months' arduous work.

The Customs Conference is not only hampered by the lack of a Chinese Government to deal with, but also by lack of authority over all China of any probable Government. The latter condition makes abolition of likin (the provincial transit tax), upon which customs autonomy has been posited, very unlikely. Furthermore, there are divergences among the powers. The tentative agreement giving China customs autonomy in 1929 with interim increases in rates has not been finally adopted. Japan is said to attach the condition that China negotiate a separate treaty with her, giving Japanese products a low rate for ten years. This report is causing anxiety among both British and American observers, who see a Japanese plan to close the door in China. It is pointed out, however, that Japan is also anxious to maintain the Washington treaties and friendship with Great Britain.

The British, who have not been enthusiastic about Chinese tariff increases and are skeptical of the power of China to abolish likin, insist that any increase of revenue be utilized for securing the Chinese debt. China, on the other hand, does not wish to have such increases tied up in advance, but the powers feel that any money that is left free will find its way to the militarists, as it probably will even if nominally earmarked. The United States is anxious that material results in the spirit of the Washington Treaty and mollifying to Chinese opinion be achieved, and apparently apprehends dilatory tactics on the part of the other representatives. Silas Strawn, the American representative, who was last month reported to be on the point of leaving, has now expressed his determination to see the conference through, though the latest report on July 3 stated that it was dying of inanition because all the Chinese members were absent.

The Boxer Indemnities Advisory Committee, consisting of three British and three Chinese under the chairmanship of Lord Willingdon of Great Britain, has recom-

mended that the fund be placed under a board of trustees in China, that the board have full power to apply it "to such educational and other purposes as it may determine," and that it shall report receipts and expenditures each year to the Chinese and British Governments. The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs accepted the report subject to parliamentary ratification.

The seizure by Chinese militarists of the revenue of the salt tax pledged to foreign loans (CURRENT HISTORY, July, 1926, page 654) has caused considerable agitation in Great Britain, where these loans are mainly held. The London papers have printed a number of letters and articles urging drastic action, and the question was raised in the House of Commons on June 1 and 10. On the first occasion the Foreign Office thought there was no reason for anticipating default, but on the latter occasion said vigorous protests had been made. Mr. Locker-Lampson, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that Chinese railroad loans, aggregating over £12,000,000, had been sold in the British market, and there were large British holdings in non-British loans; that the British Government was planning no loans to any of the Chinese factions, but pursued a policy of non-intervention and impartiality in China. The salt revenue administration, reorganized in 1913 by Sir Richard Dane, formerly Inspector General of excise and salt in India, increased from \$15,000,000 in that year to over \$80,000,000 in 1919, and over \$10,000,000 of this went for service of the foreign loans.

During the latter part of May, negotiations were begun in Mukden by representatives of the Chinese Eastern Railway to settle the differences which arose over Chang Tso-lin's seizure of that railway in January. The Russian proposal included withdrawal of the demand for recall of the Soviet Ambassador Karakhan, practical restoration of extraterritoriality for Russians in Manchuria, official recognition of Russian trade unions in Manchuria, new regulations for navigation of the Sungari, and joint Russian and Chinese guards for the railway. Negotiations broke off on June 10. During the course of these negotiations, Serebriakov, Soviet Assistant

Commissar of Communications, went to Japan, where he is said to have reached an agreement similar to the Russo-Japanese agreement of 1907 for a division of Manchuria into spheres of influence, though, at the suggestion of the Japanese Foreign Minister, "consideration for the interests and integrity of China" was stipulated. Serebriakov then proceeded to the Mukden conference, but was unable to reach an agreement with Chang.

Recent reports indicate that Manchuria has prospered in spite of civil war. Railroads are being constructed between Tao-Nan and Tsitsihar and between Mukden and Hailung, and one is prospected between Harbin and Blagovestchensk, while the Changchun-Kirin railway is to be extended eastward to Chientao. Most of the materials for this construction come from Japan, though the enterprises are Chinese. The latter railway, it is said, will open up important forest resources and fertile valleys for settlement.

Japan

ON June 2, Prime Minister Wakatsuki, having failed to form a coalition with the Seiyuhontō (True Friends Party), reconstituted his Cabinet from the Kenseikai (Conservative Party) as follows:

WAKATSUKI—Prime Minister.

HAMAZUCHI—Interior.

HAYAMI—Finance.

MACHIDA—Agriculture.

VISCOUNT INOUE—Railways.

Other members of the Cabinet were unchanged.

The Department of Education has drafted strong legislation to curb "dangerous thought" among students, which would bar the study of socialism, communism and other "isms" from the schools. A growing lack of respect for authority in the rising generation is given as the reason. Students perceive in the proposal unwarranted encroachments on freedom of speech, of meeting and of study.

The Government recently imposed a tax of 2 per cent. on income from investments, exempting income from Japanese investments by foreigners not residing in Japan.



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

FRANCE again held the centre of interest on the financial stage during the month that has just passed. The kaleidoscopic events included the resignation of the French Cabinet, the forming of a new one, the displacing of the Governor of the Bank of France, the report of a committee of experts called in by Premier Briand to diagnose the fiscal ills of his country, and the fall of the French franc to the lowest quotation in its history.

New low quotations for all time were established for French and Belgian francs on July 1, when the French franc dropped to 2.66½ cents and the Belgian to 2.70¼ cents, displacing the levels reached on May 18. The Belgian franc went still lower—to 2.52 cents on July 6.

The report of the experts called in by Premier Briand was placed in the hands of M. Caillaux on July 2 and made public two days later. It recommended the ratification of the debt accord with the United States as soon as practicable, "despite opposing considerations"; improvement of the taxation system, so as to provide a quicker and larger return and to yield about four billion francs in new revenue; cessation of the system of advances from the Bank of France to the State to cover new expenditures; a gradual reduction of the advances of the Bank to the State, so as to strengthen the bank-note cover; relief of the Treasury and a return to its normal functioning by the reorganization of a large part of the floating debt and its administration by a separate sinking fund; voluntary effort at the consolidation of the short-term national defense and Treasury bonds; the realization as soon as possible, with the aid of the Bank of France, of monetary stability; preparation for the return of capital, for which purpose it would be necessary to contract long-term loans in foreign values and to obtain credits abroad; and drafting an economic policy which would prevent in some measure inevitable difficulties that would attend a return to sound money conditions.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FINANCES

For the first time since the Government started its program for handling the public debt following

the close of the World War, there was no quarterly offering of short-term securities for refunding purposes on June 15. Government receipts from income taxes and other sources exceeded estimates by so wide a margin that it was possible for the remainder of the fiscal year, which ended on June 30, to meet all current expenditures and to retire approximately \$333,700,000 of the short-term debt that matured on June 15, without resort to additional borrowing. In announcing the Treasury's plan, which came as a surprise on June 7, Secretary Mellon stated that no further financing by the Government would be necessary until September.

The Treasury Department made public on July 1 the official figures covering its operations for the fiscal year 1925-26, disclosing a budget surplus of \$377,767,816, and a reduction in the gross public debt of \$872,977,572. Total ordinary receipts were nearly \$200,000,000 more than in the fiscal year 1925, despite the fact that income and profits tax rates were sharply reduced in the last revenue law. The income tax returns were particularly gratifying, being about \$222,000,000 larger in 1926 than in 1925.

The ordinary receipts of the Government aggregated \$3,962,755,690.14, as compared with \$3,780,148,684.42 in 1925. Total expenditures chargeable against ordinary receipts were \$3,584,987,873.50, as contrasted with \$3,529,643,446.09 in 1925.

The gross public debt, which was cut to \$19,643,216,315, dropped below \$20,000,000,000 for the first time since the World War.

The Treasury Department on June 15 received payments amounting to \$77,783,127.06 from the following Governments, on account of their indebtedness to the United States Government: Great Britain, \$67,950,000; Italy, \$5,000,000; Belgium, \$2,094,160.70; Czechoslovakia, \$1,500,000; Estonia, \$50,000; Finland, \$132,945; Hungary, \$29,442.98; Lithuania, \$76,578.38; Poland, \$750,000, and Rumania \$200,000.

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES TAX CUTS

President Coolidge, speaking before the eleventh regular meeting on June 21 of the Business

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